

**THE PRE-COLUMBIAN POTTERY FIGURINES
OF THE CENTRAL COAST OF PERU**

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VOL I

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to study a hitherto neglected pre-Columbian Peruvian artefact: the pottery figurine. The term figurine refers to a human representation, which is not a vessel or part of a vessel. Included are also ceramic litters carrying figurines.

The material recorded from collections and/or publications, constitutes a Corpus of 1571 specimens from the Central Coast of Peru, dating from the Preceramic to the Inca period.

The figurines are classified into groups, using stylistic, iconographic and technical criteria, with recourse to known pottery styles.

On the basis of this classification, the figurine groups have been used to throw light on cultural processes in the area. It has thus been possible:

- to trace outside influences—like the presence of Nascoïd figurines in the Rimac valley at the end of the Early Intermediate Period;
- to establish stylistic units, hitherto only guessed at in the published literature—like the existence of an Ancón sub-style at the end of the Middle Horizon and the early part of the Late Intermediate Period, or a Chillón sub-style towards the end of the Late Intermediate Period;
- to confirm and illustrate various previous models—like the nature of the interaction between sectors of the Central Coast during the three Horizon phases.

In addition the figurines are examined in relation to figurines from other areas of Peru.

An attempt has also been made to establish the possible functions of the figurines through a detailed description of all available contexts, a thorough search of the chroniclers for relevant references to such objects and some research into comparative ethnographic data.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. Museums and Collections

AIC	The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York.
BCM	Birmingham City Museum.
BCRL	Museo del Banco Central de Reserva, Lima.
BM	The British Museum (Museum of Mankind), London.
BMNY	The Brooklyn Museum, New York.
CMN	Castle Museum, Nottingham.
EMB	Ethnologisches Museum, Basle.
DNM	Danish National Museum, Copenhagen.
FMC	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
HMV	Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.
IMJ	The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
INC	Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Lima.
IRAL	Instituto Riva Agüero, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
KMUI	Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
LACM	Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.
LMB	Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.
LMS	Linden-Museum, Stuttgart.
MAAC	University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.
MAI	Museum of the American Indian, New York.
MAL	Museo Amano, Lima.
MArtL	Museo de Arte, Lima.
MBL	Museo Arqueológico Brüning, Lambayeque.
MEG	Musée d'Ethnographie, Geneva.
MHP	Musée de l'Homme, Paris.
MLL	Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima.
MM	The Manchester Museum.
MNCP	Museo Nacional de la Cultura Peruana, Lima.
MNAA	Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima.
MP	Museo de Pachacamac.
MPCS	Museo Peruano de Ciencias de la Salud, Lima.
MRAHB	Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
MRI	Museo Regional de Ica.
MSCh	Museo de Sitio, Chan Chan, Huaca "El Dragón".
MSP	Museo de Sitio, Puruchuco.
MSS	Museo de Sitio, Templo de Sechín.
M/UCLA	Museum of Culture History, UCLA, Los Angeles.
M/UNMSM	Museo de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.
MUT	Museo de la Universidad José Eulogio Garido, Trujillo.
MVB	Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.
MVM	Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich.
MVV	Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.
NGSW	National Geographic Society, Washington D.C.
PC1G	Private Collection 1, Geneva.
PC1Lon	Private Collection 1, London.
PC1L	Private Collection 1, Lima.

PC2L	Private Collection 2, Lima.
PC3L	Private Collection 3, Lima.
PC4L	Private Collection 4, Lima.
PC5L	Private Collection 5, Lima.
PC6L	Private Collection 6, Lima.
PC7L	Private Collection 7, Lima.
PC1M	Private Collection 1, Munich.
PC2M	Private Collection 2, Munich.
PC1NY	Private Collection 1, New York.
PC2NY	Private Collection 2, New York.
PCT	Private Collection, Trujillo.
PMH	Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
RJC	Rautenstrauch-Jost Museum, Cologne.
SAC	Collection Santiago Agurto Calvo, Lima.
SIW	Smithsonian Institution, Dept. of Anthropology, Washington D.C.
SPB	Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New-York (Sales Catalogues)
SRB	Collection Segundo Rojas Bartra, Trujillo. (Exhibition held at Banco Norperu- Continorte, Trujillo, February 1982).
SWMLA	Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.
TMW	The Textile Museum, Washington D.C.
UPMP	University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

2. Other Abbreviations (see also Abbreviations used in the Tables, p. 404)

Gr.	= Group
EH	= Early Horizon
EIP	= Early Intermediate Period
LIP	= Late Intermediate Period
LH	= Late Horizon
MH	= Middle Horizon
Sg.	= Sub-group

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Pre-Columbian pottery figurines from Peru occur in astonishingly large numbers in museum and private collections. However in the published literature they generally occupy a place of "also ran". The reason for this may be that—because of their scarcity in controlled excavations—their potential importance has been undervalued.

The main purpose of this work therefore has been to fill this gap in the archaeological record by presenting a Corpus of Peruvian pottery figurines. Under figurines I understand human representations which are not vessels or part of vessels. I recorded a total of 2323 figurines, as well as 43 figurine molds and 91 figurine whistles in museums and private collections in Europe, Peru and the United States. Approximately a further 250 figurines from publications or from data put at my disposal by archeologists have also been included in the sample.

Because of the constraints imposed by the PhD format it was decided to study in depth only the figurines from the Central Coast of Peru which—with 1571 specimens— represent 60% of the total. The remaining material provides a background allowing to compare the evolution of Central Coast figurines with that occurring at the same time in other areas and to highlight intercultural crosscurrents.

Although the main aim of this work is to record the figurines and to classify them into stylistically meaningful groups, thus providing a user-friendly Corpus of the material, the research has also focused on:

- 1) The origin, evolution, location and interaction in time or space of various figurine types or groups.
- 2) The function or functions of figurines within different cultural contexts.
- 3) Any additional or new information that a systematic study of the figurines throws on the overall cultural process of pre-Columbian Peru.

The success in achieving these goals has been variable:

- 1) In spite of the scarcity of documented associations, it has been possible, using stylistic criteria, to trace the evolution of figurine types, to date them, in short to achieve

a generally satisfactory classification.

2) Apart from isolated cases where a specific context has provided clues as to the function of a figurine, this second area of study has remained in the realm of speculation, in spite of recourse to ethnohistoric and ethnographic data. Interestingly, none of the many reports by the chroniclers of the use and subsequent destruction of idols¹ refers specifically to pottery figurines.

3) The figurines have proved very useful in shedding new light on intercultural contacts at various periods. Not only does the study clarify the fluctuating relationship between Central Coast valleys, especially between the areas north and south of the Rio Chillón, but it also shows up little explored links between the North and South Coasts and the Central Coast.

The dissertation presents the Central Coast figurines in chronological order and consists of two main parts :

1) Presentation of the material in a descriptive catalogue. The figurines, divided into groups, are:

- a) listed in tables giving their main characteristics;
- b) described feature by feature.

2) An analytical part, stating the group characteristics and discussing special features, links with other groups, context, geographic distribution and chronology of each group.

Additional data are presented in four Appendices:

Appendix 1: Gives details about specific museum collections (acquisition of figurines, reliability of provenances, etc.).

Appendix 2: Describes some of the more important Central Coast sites, with the location of successive excavations, dating of features etc.

Appendix 3: Lists and briefly describes all the recorded gravelots containing figurines.

Appendix 4: Quotes references to idols found in the chroniclers.

¹ Relevant quotations are grouped in Appendix 4.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

"If there is a conflict between consistency on the one hand and common sense or convenience on the other, the latter should prevail"
Warwick Bray

2.1 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Only one study of Peruvian pottery figurines has been undertaken so far. Written by Rose Lilien in 1956 as a PhD dissertation with the title *A Study of Central Andean Ceramic Figurines* it covers specimens from all areas of Peru and the whole of the pre-Columbian era. The aims and methods of the study are similar to mine, the difference being that Lillien's study is based on a smaller sample (circa 400 figurines as opposed to approximately 2800¹) and that our knowledge of Peruvian archaeology has been widened and refined since the work was written.

Apart from this monograph, mentions of figurines in the published literature are at best marginal, with some remarks usually added to pottery seriations under "modelled" (e.g. Strong 1925; Kroeber 1925b, 1926b; Strong and Corbett 1943)².

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1 Data acquisition

This research is based on Peruvian figurines recorded in museums and private collections. Working in a museum can be exhilarating or frustrating, depending on museum staff and the conditions in which the work is carried out. In the course of this research I visited 45 museums and 16 private collections. Whilst I mostly met with tremendous kindness and help—many museums practically gave me a free run of their stores—the working conditions were often more problematic. In many instances forward planning went spectacularly wrong, as a number of museums had no clear idea of their holding. As far as the working area is concerned, this varied from spacious and light study rooms to dark, cramped cellars.

¹ This figure includes all the figurines originally recorded.

² One exception is an article by Menzel (1967) about a group of South Coast figurines excavated by Max Uhle.

I have dwelt on the conditions of my data collecting because it has to some degree affected the resulting work. Because of varying and often poor light conditions, no standard colour determination, based on the Munsell chart, was possible, and a closer look at the ware (paste, presence of a slip, etc.) was made difficult. Because of the speed at which some recording had to be done, some data are occasionally missing. But on the whole—and bearing in mind that this study is predominantly iconographic and stylistic—the recording process has been satisfactory.

Each specimen was measured for height, width and thickness, and—conditions permitting—weighed on a small portable scale¹. Black-and-white photographs of a front view (often also of a side- and/or back view) were taken and a detailed sketch was made; iconographic data (shape and size of facial and body features, clothing etc), as well as data regarding manufacturing techniques (hand- versus mold-made, hollow or solid, number and position of air-holes, incised, modelled, molded, painted decor) and ware (characteristics of paste and surface finish, etc) were entered into a prepared recording sheet.

The recorded data are presented in the **Catalogue**. For each group this contains:

- 1) **Measurements:** list the maximum, minimum and median values for height, width, thickness and weight. Figures in brackets for each dimension show the number of figurines measured: only complete dimensions are taken into account; atypical or associated figurines are not included. The median rather than the average value for each dimension was chosen as less prone to distortion by extreme values.
- 2) **Manufacture:** describes the manufacturing techniques as listed above used for each group.
- 3) **Description:** this is set out according to a standard model. In larger groups features such as the sex may be assessed in percentages, in smaller groups they are given in numbers. Atypical or associated figurines are described separately at the end of the main description.

2.2.2 Data analysis

The nature of this study does not require a fundamental discussion, regarding the wider significance of the material output of a society, the position and degree of objectivity of the archaeologist dealing with any form of such an output, and the ultimate relevance of his findings. My aims, as stated above, are more limited and only come into play—so to speak—once the relevance of archaeological analysis has been accepted. This is above all a typological study, even though much attention has been paid to any information regarding historical and cultural processes yielded by the figurines.

¹ Some museums provided measuring apparatus and scales for larger specimens.

The neglect into which the analysis of ceramics has fallen over the last decades, especially amongst archaeologists from the United States, has greatly hampered my work. Mostly I have had to rely on the analysis, dating to the 1920s and 30s, of the material excavated by Max Uhle, in order to date the figurines. So my own work is deliberately aimed at contributing to this much neglected aspect of archaeology.

The first aim of this study is to classify (e.g. to arrange or distribute) the recorded figurines into meaningful units, on the basis of formal criteria or attributes. One of the objectives of this classificatory exercise is to articulate and organise the available material in a user-friendly way, allowing an easy identification, affiliation and dating of individual figurines. In other words the undertaking seeks to emulate what is done in natural history, for instance in zoological or botanical classification.

Since I was not dealing with excavated ceramic assemblages, I was not bound by the usual spatial and stratigraphic constraints. My initial approach to the material could therefore be empirical: I decided to first sort the figurines according to their visible relationship to known styles and then to look for other obvious taxonomic criteria. At this point a clearly stated conceptual question became necessary:

Considering the stated aim of the study, what did I see as a *meaningful unit*? Did I want to define figurine *types*, embodying rigidly defined iconographic attributes, rendered in a specific stylistic expression or did I want to form wider-based *groups*, which could be related more flexibly to known cultural processes? The semantic differences between the words *type* and *group* helped to clarify the problem.

According to the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* (1936:2276) a *type* is—amongst other definitions— “the general form, structure or character distinguishing a particular kind, group, or class of ...objects”; used in natural history it is “a certain general plan of structure characterizing a group of animals, plants hence transf. a group or division of animals etc. having a common form or structure”.

By contrast some of the meanings of the word *group* are (1936:837): “An assemblage of ...objects standing near together and forming a collective unity;...a cluster (of things)” or “A number...of things in a certain relation, or having a certain degree of similarity” and finally “Chiefly used as an indefinite term for any classificatory division whatever its relative rank (e.g. in zoology)”.

Comparing the two sets of definitions it becomes clear that *group* is a more flexible unit than *type*, better adapted for the classification of a large, heterogenous set of artefacts such as

the figurines. This becomes even clearer when one turns to the determination of the classificatory attributes. If the criteria are too standardized or strict—as would be required for a typology—there is the danger of creating too many classes of figurines numbering only a few specimens. But if one selects attributes which express “...a certain relation...” or “...a certain degree of [internal] similarity...” and which therefore can vary from group to group, the result is a classification which is both meaningful and adaptable.

Many archaeologists, working with figurines, have come to similar conclusions, either explicitly or in the way they adapt their criteria to fit their own material. Thus Goldstein (1979:57), working on Maya figurines from Campeche, writes:

“Comparative visual analysis of the figurines revealed that no single attribute or group of attributes could be used in all cases as criteria for distinguishing groups. Rather—criteria for grouping would have to change with the material.”

Krutt, classifies figurines from Western Mexico by first defining *types* then joining them into *classes* (equivalent to my *groups*):

“The usefulness of the *class* becomes apparent when dealing with *marginal specimens*, that is with figurines which have not sufficient characteristic attributes to be formally included into a *type*, but which are sufficiently closely related to a number of types in a same class, to belong without doubt to that class.” (1975:25, my translation)

Corson (1976:7) dealing with Jaina figurines states:

“To this extent, then, objectivity has been sacrificed in favor of a format stressing the continuity of easily identifiable (though subjectively defined) figurine subjects. The format should prove particularly useful for typing new specimens as well as for comparing the figurine complexes of other sites.”

The attributes which form the basis for the classification of the figurines into groups belong to three categories:

1. Stylistic attributes: relating to the manner in which an artefact is executed, style being an assemblage of traits characteristic of a given culture. The concept here is narrowed down to that element which Willey (1951:111) calls *configuration*, e.g. “...a matter of line, composition and emphasis”.

2. Iconographic attributes: relating to who or what is represented. In the case of Peruvian figurines—unlike certain Central American types—the attributes are rather basic:

- Sex : the great majority of figurines are women, many have no indication of sex, men are rarely represented;
- Posture: nearly always standing, with folded arms; activities are never depicted;

- Accoutrement: clothing, especially headdress, and jewellery (necklace, ear-plugs).
3. Technical attributes: e.g. relating to the manufacture of the artefact. In the case of the figurines important diagnostic/classificatory elements are:
- Hand-made versus mold-made;
 - Air-holes: number, location;
 - Type of ware: paste, surface finish, decor. The term *ware* is used in the “loose” way explained and to some degree justified by Sheppard (1965: 318-319): in the absence of specific criteria like distinctive designs or vessel shapes, it often describes a number of related pottery *types*, as, for instance, in the case of the late Middle Horizon epigonal-related or -derived ware or wares.

It is not always easy to distinguish between these various sets of attributes. Many stylistic traits merge with the technical at one end of the spectrum and with the iconographic at the other. For instance: are the differently shaped spouts of the five Moche phases strictly speaking a technical or a stylistic trait? Equally: is a Lambayeque eye, made by two thinly incised lines a technical (thin incision), stylistic (typical Lambayeque eye) or iconographic (possibly linked with the representation of the Lord of Sican) trait?

It is particularly difficult to distinguish between stylistic and iconographic attributes, simply because the two spheres overlap conceptually. Goldstein, when trying to select the apposite attributes for her classification of Maya figurines from Campeche (1979:43) quotes the following argument (Troike 1968:167): “A basic problem is...that of distinguishing between those features that were culturally essential to the original...comprehension of a pictorial scene (iconographic) and those which the artist may freely vary (stylistic)...For an adequate comprehension of either it is also necessary to understand clearly the range of permissible variation within each”.

This statement is open to debate. On the one hand iconographic traits only become essential, culturally or otherwise, when the figurine depicted represents a specific personage or type. We assume this to be generally the case in a pre-Columbian setting, but it need not be so and to assume it *a priori* can lead to errors in interpretation. On the other hand, to speak of stylistic “freedom” in a pre-Columbian context is unrealistic. A Moche or Maya potter with little or no knowledge of other styles and probably bound by ideological concepts unknown to us, cannot be seen as really free in the stylistic expression of his creative work.

As a result Goldstein’s choice between stylistic and iconographic attributes appears subjective. Under “traits that the artist was free to vary, i.e. criteria for a stylistic classification”, she lists proportion, headform, headdress, neckline, contour, negative space, modelling, active versus static pose, symmetry of composition, whilst under “traits determined

by the subject to be portrayed, i.e. criteria for an iconographic classification” are listed costume, accoutrements, body type, gesture, headform (again!), pose”. It seems quite obvious that this distinction and choice of criteria is valid for and adapted to the specific sample of figurines with which Goldberg is dealing. As far as I can see, there is nothing wrong in this, if it allows a sensible classification.

My approach to attribute analysis has been equally pragmatic and adaptive throughout. It was decided at an early stage not to use computer techniques for the attribute analysis, because—with a few exceptions—the discrete, culturally affiliated groups, were too small. Even for the larger groups the quantifying of specific attributes seemed problematic: small modelled features, such as a nose or a mouth, are much more difficult to quantify than design motifs or vessel shapes. So the analysis is mainly based on a visual assessment of the different categories of attributes.

The first and most obvious area of assessment is the stylistic one: the figurines were subdivided according to their appartenance to known ceramic styles. This was much easier than anticipated, although the range of attributes varied from case to case. Thus a Moche figurine looks like human representations on Moche vessels, with beautifully modelled facial traits and similar clothing. The same can be said of Nasca figurines, though here the distinctive Nasca polychrome ware also helps in the identification. In the case of Chancay pottery, the specific black-on-white ware is a first distinctive trait, before similarities with face-necks can be found. But in the case of figurines with little or no equivalent human representations in the culture to which they belong and lacking distinctive ceramic characteristics, like Ica-Chincha figurines, the basis for assigning them to a given culture was their presence in a documented excavated assemblage.

The next area of visual assessment is that of iconographic features. Here I found the systematic approach to the iconographic analysis of motifs—as preconised by Panofsky (1962:3-17) and by Cordy-Collins (1980:421)—useful when applied to figurines, the successive steps being:

- 1) An objective description of individual figurines;
- 2) An analysis, by assembling as large a sample of similar figurines in order to identify the patterns which the figurines follow, also examining relevant attributes in relationships between figurine groups and in other iconographic expressions (vessels, textiles, metalwork etc);
- 3) The interpretation of the figurine group.

The final field of visual assessment is the technical one, according to the attributes set out above.

As in any ceramic study—be it a simple seriation or multivariate analysis—all three sets of attributes (stylistic, iconographic, technical) have to be described and used in conjunction for the assembling and defining of figurine groups: these are made up of individual specimens sharing a number of attributes. Often a large number of attributes are shared by many specimens, making group formation extremely easy and resulting in homogenous groups. But in many cases groups have to be formed on the basis of “linkage”: some figurines will share attributes 1 to 12, the next sample shares attributes 8 to 17, a further sample attributes 13 to 20 or 1 to 5 and 15 to 19 etc. A particular attribute may appear highly significant, because it provides important clues regarding the function of the object or its spatial and/or temporal relationships. Nevertheless such an attribute can never be the only or even the main criterion for the formation of a group. In that sense there is no ranking of the attributes in the process of group formation, only in the subsequent interpretation.

At the same time—and because of the flexibility afforded by the concept of the group outlined earlier—different attributes can be called upon for the formation of different groups. To use an analogy from zoology: different attributes will be used to classify mammals and insects. The kinds of adaptations that my classificatory criteria had to undergo are best illustrated by comparing three sets of figurines: those of the Nasca¹ and Chancay cultures and what I have called the Supe figurines.

In all three cases, we are dealing with technically and stylistically homogenous groups and, in the case of the Nasca and Chancay figurines, with artefacts clearly belonging to well defined cultures. But whereas the Chancay figurines depict at least four iconographically distinct personages, both the Nasca and Supe figurines basically only show one iconographic representation, though in the case of Nasca varying in sex, size and posture. So whilst the Chancay figurines are classified into groups (in this case one could even speak of types) using specific attributes such as the shape of the head or elements of dress, the bulk of Nasca figurines are subdivided into groups, using size, sex, and posture, the relevance of this classification being confirmed by a chronological co-variant. Finally the Supe figurines cannot be usefully subdivided at all, because the observable variables do not combine in a sufficiently specific way. In that particular group, although some attributes are constant, I have also had to recur to a certain amount of “linkage”.

¹ The Nasca group is not part of this dissertation, but was studied in depth for publication.

The choice of different attributes for group formation also has an effect on internal subdivisions and the integration of marginal specimens:

- A very large group may be subdivided on the basis of one salient attribute, when this is found to have a wider co-variance (e.g. Chancay *cuchimilcos* are sub-divided into small (1.4.1) and large (1.4.2) and the former into 1.4.1a and 1.4.1b according to the proportions of the head).
- A number of figurines do not fit easily into any group: these are listed as *atypical* or as *associated*. In the case of the former, the specimen belong quite clearly to the group, sharing a few of the more salient features; in the latter the similarities are not pronounced, but the figurine may share a few traits, or have some links with the group (provenance, chronological position) or simply fit better into that group than into any other. This way of incorporating marginal specimens avoids excessive group splintering.
- This last argument has also lead to the formation of some fairly heteroclitous groups, but the criteria on which such groups are based are always justified.

One recurring difficulty has been the naming of the groups. Ideally a spacial and/or temporal pointer would have been desirable, but these were often not specific enough and would have produced some very unwieldy names. Finally I have adopted an *ad hoc* nomenclature, referring mainly to a known culture or period, less often to a site or to apparent analogies.

2.2.3 Data Interpretation

The figurines having been classified into groups according to the method and criteria outlined above, the following aspects are discussed within each group:

- 1) **Special features:** these may be a cultural trait shared by a number of groups or confined to one group only. Examples of such features are: different types of craneal deformation, hands with three fingers, occurrence of double-faced figurines, etc. Special features are discussed in the group where they first occur or where they are most common.
- 2) **Links with other groups:** emphasis is given to those links which show intercultural contacts or which have a chronological significance.
- 3) **Context:** Whenever known, the context in which a figurine has been found is discussed in order to elucidate the function. Detailed description of documented burials are listed in Appendix 3.
- 4) **Geographic distribution:** The great majority of figurines in this study have no certain site indication, but many are given provenances of sorts in the museum catalogues. A certain amount of detective work had to be done on museum collections in order to rate the value of such provenances. This is done in Appendix 1. The ratings, also shown in the Tables, are as follows:

- *** *Certain* as to site, from a documented context;
- ** *Certain* as to site, but lacking a documented context;
- * *Fairly reliable* as to site: this rating can include—amongst others—provenances given by individuals with local knowledge (e.g. Yoshitaro Amano, at the Museo Amano, Lima) or archaeologists (e.g. S.K Lothrop on his buying expeditions for the Peabody Museum, Harvard).

Unverifiable: this rating can include indications such as “Chancay” in a museum catalogue, though it may not be clear whether the valley or the culture is meant.

- () *Unlikely*: this rating is based on criteria such as collections with consistently unlikely provenances, etc.

Although all categories are listed for each group, only the first three are taken into account when discussing the distribution of a group.

5) Chronological position: This is mainly based on stylistic criteria using and combining:

- a) associated artefacts where available;
- b) stylistic similarities with known ceramic styles;
- c) stylistic continuities and discontinuities within the material itself.

Absolute dates are practically non-existent, the dating is based on a slightly modified version of Rowe’s (1960a) chronological framework (see Chapter 3).

CHAPTER 3

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL FRAME

3.1: THE GEOGRAPHIC FRAME

Although this study concentrates on the Central Coast of Peru, the overall geographical frame is briefly discussed here, in order to set the region into its wider context. This wider area covers that of present day Peru. It does therefore not wholly coincide with the cultural concept of the "Central Andean Area" or "Peruvian Co-tradition" as originally defined by Bennett (1946, 1948). In the north it now includes the Piura area, because of the discovery, since Bennett's formulation, of the Vicús culture. It also extends east of the major highland basins into the *montaña*, a region increasingly gaining importance because of recent research.

With a study such as this, mainly based on the survey of museum collections, the danger of being restricted by the geographic parameters used by the museums themselves is obvious. Most collections are organised along present day political frontiers. No student asking to examine all available pottery figurines from Colombia to Chile would be welcome in the storage rooms of a major museum.

However such an unpopular request was quite unnecessary in this case, as a glance at even the geographically closest figurine material, that of coastal Ecuador, shows a fairly clear frontier between the stylistic traditions of that area and northern Peru. This was confirmed by the—admittedly random—examination of museum collections. It may prove invalid for the highland border zone.

The concurrence between archaeological and present day frontiers between Peru and Ecuador has been examined by Burger (1984). He argues convincingly that, notwithstanding trade contacts and occasional economic, military or ideological forays, the political frontier coincides with a demarcation line between "distinct archaeological areas" going back in time at least to the Early Horizon.

No similar study exists for the south of Peru. The area, extending roughly from Acari to the Chilean border and including the Arequipa plateau, has been largely overlooked by archaeologists until recent years. Only one pottery figurine from the area has so far been published. Another area, that of the Bolivian *altiplano* is known to have had links with the

Peruvian Titicaca basin. But since pottery figurines are very scarce in the highlands generally I decided—in view of the amount of material I was dealing with—not to extend my search into Bolivian archaeological collections as well.

It has long been customary to subdivide the Central Andean Area geographically into North, Central and South Coast and Highlands. The reason for this subdivision has essentially been one of presentation, the amount of archaeological field-work carried out in different areas being an avowed factor in this subdivision. As a result, the coastal hinterland, between the lower valleys and the highlands, and the *montaña* on the eastern slopes of the Andes often tend to fall outside the defined (and studied!) areas. Nevertheless the subdivisions remain in use to this day because they reflect, albeit imperfectly, ecological and cultural realities.

A number of authors dealing with the area have spelt out precisely which coastal valleys and highland basins they include in which zone. As can be expected, it is the peripheral areas, especially on the coast, which are most open to controversy (cf. Bennett and Bird 1946:70; Lanning 1967:30ff; Willey 1971). Basically I have followed Lumbreras' subdivisions (1974a:4-5), but have introduced small modifications dictated by the evidence of my own material.:

North Coast: Tumbes to south of the Casma valley, without a special sub-division for the far north;

Central Coast: Huarmey valley to Omas/Asia valley. The Huarmey valley appears to be an archaeological no-man's land, due to lack of investigation. Only two figurines are specifically said to come from there: they are somewhat atypical but closer to Central- than to North Coast material. All the figurines from the Cañete valley are clearly related to South Coast cultures.

South Coast: Cañete valley to the Chilean border. The bulk of the figurines come from the area between Cañete and the Nasca drainage.

Highlands: My sub-division follows Lumbreras' (1974a:6), with the added subdivision of the "South Central Highlands" for the Ayacucho basin.

3.2: THE CHRONOLOGICAL FRAME

This study is set in the chronological frame outlined by Rowe (1960a), though with a few modifications (see below). Based on the ceramic sequence in the Ica valley, Rowe distinguishes six *periods*—following the Preceramic stage—which are further subdivided into *epochs*, again reflecting changes in the ceramics of the Ica valley. This scheme offers maximum flexibility

because the further subdivision into a relatively large number of epochs allows to incorporate local cultural sequences.

The fact that Rowe's chronology is still widely used in Peruvian archaeology to-day—even though the terminology is sometimes modified—does not mean that it is fully accepted. Quite apart from the difficulty in correlating the periods of different geographic areas and the somewhat arbitrary subdivisions into equal epochs, the problems of the Early and Middle Horizons and the nature of the spread of Chavin and Wari influences to large areas of Peru are constantly being reexamined (Burger 1993; Czwarno, Meddens, Morgan 1989 and many others).

I have adopted the following modifications to Rowe's chronology:

- a) I have followed Lumbreras' subdivisions regarding the Chavín Horizon style; these not only accommodate my own material better, but seem currently more commonly used in Peru, in spite of attracting some—partly justified—criticism (Burger 1988: 110). Instead of an *Initial Period* followed by the *Early Horizon*, Lumbreras proposes a *Formative Period* “divided into three stages: Lower, Middle and Upper ...The Lower stage includes both pre-Chavín complexes which are earlier than Chavín, and non-Chavín complexes, which may be pre-Chavín, but are not necessarily so; the Middle stage corresponds to the diffusion of the Chavín complex and is consequently not represented where Chavínoid traits did not penetrate; the Upper stage incorporates complexes derived from both Chavín and non-Chavín antecedents” (Lumbreras 1974: 49).
- b) The subdivision of periods into epochs is replaced—whenever possible—by the phases of a given culture (e.g. Chancay).
- c) The matching of epochs with the absolute dates of the Ica master sequence is not always adhered to (e.g. in the Formative of the Central Coast). In many cases I follow local chronologies.

The following Periods are used in this study (in brackets commonly used abbreviations):

- The Preceramic Period
- The Formative Period, subdivided into:
 - The Lower Formative, also known as Initial Period (IP)
 - The Middle Formative, incorporating the Early Horizon (EH)
 - The Late Formative
- The Early Intermediate Period (EIP)

- The Middle Horizon (MH)
- The Late Intermediate Period (LIP)
- The Late Horizon or Inca Period (LH)

I have made no consistent attempt to correlate these periods with an absolute chronology. Where available, C^{14} dates are quoted as found in the relevant publication; when corrected dates are quoted this is specified.

Where one or more chronological sequences are available for a given culture, the parameters are discussed and the phases correlated at the beginning of the relevant chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE FIGURINES OF THE PRECERAMIC PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

The term *Preceramic* is used in Peruvian chronology to cover the period between the first traces of human activity in a given area and the appearance of pottery. On the Central Coast, this would mean a time span of roughly 10.000 years, from about 12.000 to about 1.800 BC.

The latter part of this period—the only one that concerns us here—has been called the *Cotton Preceramic* by Engel (1957), because the widespread introduction of this cultigen in preceramic sites provided a significant cultural and chronological sub-division of the period. It would seem that by this stage, at least on the Central Coast, sites were occupied permanently. The generally accepted date for the beginning of the Cotton Preceramic is 2.500 BC, though dates for Bandurria and Aspero, both apparently permanently occupied, are considerably earlier.

The scenario which lead from these first permanent settlements to the relatively complex societies, undertaking large-scale ceremonial architecture at the end of the Preceramic, constitutes one of the crucial debates in Peruvian archaeology.

It was Moseley (1975) who first clearly formulated a model, whereby the technologically simple exploitation of the vast marine resources in Peruvian coastal waters lead to sedentary life, sustained increasingly high density populations, and eventually gave raise to "civilisation".

This thesis of the "marine foundations of Andean civilisation" has been repeatedly challenged by those who believe that marine resources were insufficient to sustain high population density and that additional reliance on other foodstuffs through a variety of strategies, gradually lead to the emergence of civilised life in the Andean area (Osborn 1977, Wilson 1981, Raymond 1981).

Ultimately the debate will have to be resolved by the growing sophistication of sampling and interpretative techniques of a considerably larger archaeological record¹. The indirect

¹ A synthesis of the more recent research and interpretations is given by Fung (1990).

significance of the problem to this study resides in assessing the cosmic concepts which first lead to reproducing the human form in clay.

Figurines made of unfired clay first appear towards the end of the Cotton Preceramic and are generally linked with large ceremonial structures, the obvious result of corporate labour.

One of the questions raised by Moseley (1975:118) is why—within the framework of a subsistence pattern based on individual effort—early fishing communities should have participated in the collective labour necessary for monumental architecture. The answer is slowly emerging, as more and more monumental architecture from the Preceramic comes to light, particularly in the Highlands.

It now appears that, although the subsistence strategies vary according to the areas, the corporate labour engaged in the building of large-scale ceremonial architecture must have been primarily moved by religious imperatives. The various types of monumental architecture represent different manifestations of one or several related religious movements (Donnan, Editor, 1985). The presence of figurines could be an additional element in tracing and linking such traditions.

To date twenty-five figurines or figurine fragments, made of unfired clay, have been retrieved from preceramic archaeological strata on the Central Coast of Peru.

THE FIGURINES OF THE PRECERAMIC PERIOD

Table 1

Catalogue: vol.II, pp.287-288

Plate: Not illustrated

The figurines do not form a group and are listed and examined under the sites where they were found.

BANDURRIA

Sample: 1 figurine

Characteristics

Figurine with a small head and elongated body, modelled arms extended downwards and completely separate cylindrical legs. The eyes, some fingers and toes are incised. The sex is not indicated.

The unbaked clay has a fairly coarse texture, pale grey in colour, with a very brittle surface: features such as the nose and arms have crumbled off since it was found.

Geographic location

Bandurria is one of a number of preceramic sites located at Playa Chica, a beach 12 km south of the Huaura valley. It is listed as a "cemetery" and refuse deposit (Cárdenas 1977-78:113- 114), but it also features one or more pyramid-mound. R. Fung (1990:96-97) suggests that—like at Rio Seco de León (see below)—the pyramids, originally surmounted by large monoliths disposed in a certain order, functioned as sun-dials. The relatively elaborate burial customs (see below) may indicate a sacred aspect of the whole site; Quilter (1985:297) speaks of a "ceremonial setting" at Bandurria.

The figurine was found by Doctora Rosa Fung in 1973, when the waters of the San Felipe irrigation canal had cut into a midden *cum* burial site (personal communication).

Context

According to R. Fung: "the figurine was found alongside a small basket. I presume that the figurine had been deposited inside the basket. I conclude that it was part of a funerary offering, but there are no precise indications as the waters had carried everything away...We certainly did not salvage a burial associated with the figurine" (personal communication). Feldman (1980:156) mentions that Fung recovered a large number of *fardos* at the site; some of these did not contain bodies, only "matting, sticks, and other plant material". Feldman suggests that the bundles may have been "symbolic representations of a burial".

Chronology

According to Fung (1988:77) the figurine was found at the base of the earlier of two preceramic deposits, dating to 4,530±80 BP.

EL ASPERO

Sample: 17 figurine fragments.

Characteristics

Figurines with a small cylindrical head(in one case more conical) and incised facial features. Larger, mostly cylindrical bodies with applied arms in various positions. Most specimens are sitting, one is standing. Genitals are not indicated, but applied breasts occur. Clothing is shown on one specimen, elaborate hats and necklaces can also be depicted (Feldman 1980: 151-153; 1991).

The figurines are solid and hand-made of unfired clay; the texture is fine, with no visible temper, the surface very brittle. The colour is pale grey.

Discussion

Feldman (1991) assumes that eleven figurines represent females, four of them possibly pregnant, and two males. This assessment is based solely on the presence of breasts. However, we know from many later examples that breasts or nipples also occur on males. Feldman does not take into account the representation of the vulva with a slit. Sometimes this feature can appear as a mere dividing line of the legs, but in the case of 986, one of Feldman's males, I definitely recorded this feature as female genitals, possibly also on P140. The feature which he sees as a breast on one of his females (985), could be the fragment of an applied arm. 984 with an elaborate dress is also seen as male because it lacks breasts.

The male 986 (female according to me), found separately from the main cache, is the only standing figurine—as far as we can tell.

One figurine (P1) was entirely coloured red (Feldman 1980:xiv). This is the earliest instance, recorded in Peru, of red pigment being used in a sacred context. The feature appears again and again, mainly on the faces of figurines. It is common in a funerary context, not only in Peru, but worldwide. The use of red pigment in relation to a preceramic offering is also recorded at El Paraíso (Quilter 1985:284).

Geographic location

El Aspero is a large preceramic site, ca 2 km south of Puerto de Supe. It consists of an extensive midden (over 13 hectares), dotted with a number of architectural features such as mounds and terraces.

Feldman excavated the figurines at Mound 2, which was named *Huaca de los Idolos* after them. The exact location of the cache containing 16 fragments was a small "dead-end" room (Room 2) created by dividing a larger room (Room 1). The figurines were recovered from a 15.0 cm high space, separating the last two floors (2 and 1) of the building sequence (Feldman 1980:74-75). The 17th figurine was found "just outside the east wall of the cache room" (Feldman 1980:153).

Context

"Instead of the cane bagged quarried fill used in the rest of the rooms, the space...was filled with an assortment of matting, baskets, food and plant material and unbaked human figures...The material...was not dumped as in a "storage closet" or rubbish heap; it was carefully placed, forming a cache of objects of unusual significance" (Feldman 1980:74-75). Feldman probably assumes correctly that all the figurines were made by the same artist (1980:151).

Considering that the contents of the burial bundles without bodies found at Bandurria (see above) were very similar to the material associated with the figurines at Aspero, Feldman (1980:156) suggests that they might be dedicatory offerings, in this case related to a rebuilding of the *huaca*. Two ceremonial burials, possibly also dedicatory, at the nearby *Huaca de los Sacrificios* would confirm this interpretation (1980:114-117). The lay-out of *Huaca de los Idolos* also suggests a ceremonial use of this edifice (1980:192).

Chronology

A radiocarbon date from the figurine cache gives 4900±160 BP (corrected). This date has been rejected as too early, because lower levels yielded later dates. However there is a notable consistency between seven dates collected at *Huacas de los Idolos* and *de los Sacrificios* spanning a period between 3055 BC and 2533 BC (corrected) (Feldman 1980:246, 251), i.e. contemporary or slightly later than Bandurria.

RIO SECO DE LEÓN

Sample: 1 figurine, 4 figurine fragments.

Characteristics

Clumsy specimens, cylindrical or flattened in shape. One complete figurine has a modelled nose and incised features. The neck is shown by a groove, but the cylindrical body is featureless. Other body fragments have an incision separating the legs. The sex is not indicated and there are no accessories (Wendt 1963:246).

The unfired clay appears to have a rough (brittle?) surface; texture and colour are not described.

Geographic location

The dry bed of the Rio Seco de León reaches the Pacific north of the Chancay Valley. The preceramic site covers nearly 12 hectares with at least nine middens, of which six (nos.4-9) are located 800 to 1000 metres inland from the river mouth. The site features some public architecture, with artificial mounds containing platforms and stone rooms, as well as precarious domestic dwellings. It must have housed a large population, mainly subsisting on marine resources, since it is located at a considerable distance from the Chancay valley. It contained up to 3000 burials (Wendt 1964:226f, 242f; Patterson and Moseley 1968:118).

The figurines are not listed as grave-goods, but appear with the other artifacts recovered at mound no.6 by Wendt (1963:246)¹.

Context

There are no specific data about any architectural remains in mound 6, which appears to have been mainly a midden, nor about the precise location and context of the figurines.

Chronology

Engel gives two radiocarbon dates for the preceramic site: 3800±100 BP and 3740±100 BP=1843 and 1783 BC (Engel 1957:143 and 1963b:123). Feldman (1980:154) gives the slightly earlier dates of 4300 to 4200 BP (2350 to 2250 BC). Fung (1990:96) sees the site as even earlier, e.g. contemporary with Bandurria. In any case there is ^{no} stated association between the dates and the figurines: they only provide an approximate indication of the age of the figurines.

EL PARAÍSO

Sample: Head fragment of one figurine².

Characteristics

Elaborate head, with incised features and an applied hairstyle or bonnet, perhaps also a necklace. According to Engel (1966a:Pl.VI,1) the figurine is unfired, but J. Quilter, who provided further details about the specimen (personal communication) is not absolutely sure whether the grey clay is fired or not.

Geographic location

El Paraíso (also known as Chuquitanta, from the name of the hacienda on which the site is located) is a the largest known preceramic site. The vast architectural complex is located in a *quebrada* opening onto the left bank of the Rio Chillón, some 4.5 km from its mouth.

Unit 1 in which the figurine fragment was found, is a complex stone structure standing isolated at the head of the quebrada, slightly above seven further structures.

¹ These seem to be the same figurines mentioned by Engel as found by him and his team at Rio Seco (Engel 1966a:68). However Wendt publishes them as artefacts from an independant excavation carried out by himself at mound 6 in 1961-62.

² Feldman (1980:154) mentions two figurine fragments from Paraiso. Perhaps he includes a stone concretion qualified as "idol" by Engel (1966a:Pl.V,2).]

Engel excavated 5 or 6 successive building phases at Unit 1, all yielding material without pottery. He does not specify to which building phase he assigns the figurine fragment, nor in what specific context it was found (Engel 1966a:49ff and 68).

Context

Offerings, in the form of wrapped stones and wood, were found at Unit I (Engel 1966a:68; Quilter 1985:291). At least one room in the same unit, containing a sunken pit, appears to have fulfilled a ceremonial function (Quilter 1985:297). The function of the figurine may therefore have been ritual.

Chronology

A Carbon¹⁴ date, associated with the last building phases at Unit I, gives 3570±150 BP = 1676 BC (Engel 1966a:46). Engel also stresses many similarities with the archaeological material from Rio Seco, such as twined textiles, a biface blade etc. (Engel 1966a:46,67). Quilter (pers. comm.) places the whole of Unit 1 within the Late Preceramic Period, ca 1800-1500 BC.

CONCLUSION

Very early human figurines are known from the preceramic Mito phase at Kotosh (Izumi and Terada 1972: Pl.131, figs.11-13)¹. Two of these are contemporary, another two may even predate the figurines from Aspero. There are also early unfired clay figurines from the Hacha site, near Acari on the South Coast (J. Rowe, personal communication), but these probably date to the Initial Period (Willay 22: 2).

However, except for the more elaborate specimens from Aspero, for which there are no known parallels, all the early figurines are generally too simple in shape and decor to allow valid comparisons, even less to try and trace a common tradition. In that sense, I disagree with Feldman (1980: 154) that there is any resemblance, at this stage, between the fragment from Paraíso and figurines from Kotosh or from Valdivia 3.

Quilter refers to what has been described as the "Kotosh Religious Tradition", characterised by "numerous small sunken floors with hearts at their center... associated with concepts focusing on renewal and fertility" (1985:297). This tradition extended beyond the Highlands into a number of Late Preceramic and Early Formative coastal sites, though there are a number of variations from site to site. Moseley (1992) also sees a multiplicity of traditions reflected in the ceremonial architecture.

¹ A fourth figurine fragment, that of a head, is not illustrated (Izumi and Terada 1973: 210).

At present the significance of figurines within these traditions cannot be assessed. The absence of figurines in the Preceramic strata of a majority of highland sites (other than Kotosh) contrasts with the Central Coast sites, though this absence may be partly due to the difficulty of unfired clay surviving in a highland setting. However, no preceramic figurines have been found to date on the North or South Coast either, though conditions of preservation are similar to those on the Central Coast.

As far as the function of the Preceramic figurines is concerned it seems likely that it did at least transcend the domestic frame. The cache at Aspero definitely points to a religious or ceremonial function, though Feldman's interpretation of the cache as "symbolic human burials or sacrifices" (1980:155) is somewhat speculative. It is significant that both at Aspero and Paraíso the buildings in which the figurines were found, fulfilled—at least partly—a ceremonial function, whilst the other sites have ceremonial connotations. Parallels can also be drawn with Kotosh. But at this point it is not possible to see in the Preceramic figurines of the Central Coast a local aspect of a wider religious tradition, nor to find a definite explanation for their function.

CHAPTER 5

THE FIGURINES OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE FORMATIVE PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

The Formative Period on the Central Coast starts, by definition, with the appearance of pottery in the area and merges, rather less clearly, into the Early Intermediate Period, with the appearance of ceramic styles, such as Baños de Boza and Miramar, belonging to what has been called the White-on-Red Horizon. The appearance of pottery coincides with the emergence—on the central Coast and in other areas of Peru—of large U-shaped architectural complexes, such as San Jacinto in the Chancay valley, Huacoy in the Chillón valley, Garagay and Huaca La Florida in the Rimac valley, Cardal and Mina Perdida in the Lurín valley to name but a few (Williams León 1978-1980)¹.

Because in recent archaeological research the emphasis has focused on social and economic aspects of the past, one of the most important chronological tools, the analysis of ceramic sequences, has been neglected. As a result the only chronology of the Formative on the Central Coast available is based on field-work—with a ceramic bias—of the 1930s to 1960s. This includes several excavations at Ancón (see Appendix 2) and excavations or surface collections in the Chillón, Rimac and Lurín Valleys, as well as areas to the north and south. Unfortunately access to the excavated or collected material is nearly impossible. Where published, the quality and quantity of the material described (see this chapter), makes it difficult to identify and compare ceramic styles or different ware types.

The Formative Period figurines consist of a fairly large group from Ancón (excavated by Max Uhle, the MNAA and H. Rosas), and of a small number of specimens from the Rimac and Lurín valleys, and from Curayaco, a little to the south, some of the latter closely resembling the Ancón figurines.

In this chapter I shall try to reconstruct a comparative, or rather relative, chronological framework, taking into account the often contradictory data provided by the published Central

¹ For a recent general study, covering not only the Middle Formative (Early Horizon), but also the Early (Initial Period) and Late Formative, see Burger 1992.

Coast sequences. This is meant to prevent mistakes, arising from differing nomenclature or over-simplifications occurring in chronological charts and to show up the difficulties stemming from discrepancies between related ceramic sequences, absolute dating, etc. The figurine sample will then be fitted into this framework and dated.

The chronological framework is set out as a comparative chart (see Chronological Chart 1) based on data contained in various studies (Willey and Corbett 1954; Matos Mendieta 1966, 1968; Fung 1969, Patterson and Moseley 1968; Patterson 1968, 1971; Rosas 1970; Scheele 1970; Macneish, Patterson, Browman 1975; Ravines et al 1982). The following remarks are meant as explanatory comments to this chart; for a detailed description of the ceramic assemblages themselves refer to the publications.

Because in the earlier stages archaeologists often did not identify an initial, pre-Chavín, stage in pottery complexes, many of the described sequences flow from one period into the next. I shall therefore analyse the first two sub-divisions of the Formative (Early and Middle) together.

The Chronology of the Early Formative (Initial Period) and Middle Formative (Early Horizon Epochs 1 to 6): Explanatory notes to Chronological Chart 1.

Column 1: Absolute chronology

The dates for the Early Formative (Initial Period) are based on Patterson and Moseley 1968 (see below column 3) which on the whole synchronize with those given in other publications (Willey 1971, Lumbreras 1974, Macneish, Patterson, Browman 1975).

Column 2: Relative chronology: the Middle Formative and the epochs of the Early Horizon

As already mentioned in Chapter 3, the Middle Formative is characterized by the appearance of Chavín influences in the ceramic assemblages. However, the absolute dating of this period and the matching of Early Horizon epochs—as used by a number of authors—with absolute dates are at best schematic. The general concensus seems to be that the beginning of the Early Horizon in the Ica valley (see Menzel 1977, chronological table) is placed rather early, starting around 1400 BC. In contrast Willey (1971:84) and Lumbreras (1974) place the beginning both on the Central and the South Coast around 900 BC. Note that for Burger, *the* Chavín specialist, the Early Horizon only starts around 600 BC (1992:231). His dating is based on stricter criteria for the Chavín influence and may well prove more accurate. But it goes against the conventional chronology: for instance Burger assigns the North Coast Cupisnique

style to the Initial Period, whilst the Central Coast White-on-red style is included into the Early Horizon. Moseley and Patterson (1968) put the earliest manifestation of Chavinoïd traits on the Central Coast around 1000 BC., a date which I have adopted because the sequences discussed in this chapter imply a longer chronology.

The end of the Early Horizon is even more controversial. Lumbreras (1974), for whom the Chavín period is by definition only the Middle Formative, places its end around 400 BC. Many other authors extend the Early Horizon to the beginning of the next marked change in the ceramic sequence, which on the Central Coast is the appearance of the so-called White-on-Red Horizon (Baños de Boza), around 200 to 100 BC, regardless whether Chavín influences are still felt or not. Because of this—in the chart—epochs 1 to 6 of the Early Horizon correspond to the Middle Formative, whilst the later epochs, 7 to 10, extend into the Upper Formative.

Column 3: Patterson and Moseley's (1968) outline of the Early Formative or Initial Period

The origin of ceramics on the Central Coast has as yet not been fully traced. Patterson and Moseley (1968:119-122) give a brief outline of the Initial Period, based on excavations and surface collections, mainly in the Ancón area, but extending to the Rimac and Lurín valleys and as far south as San Bartolo. The earliest ceramics appear at Ancón around 1750 BC and are closely followed by an unconnected ceramic style found at the large ceremonial site of Huaca La Florida, Rimac valley, and dated between 1700-1600 BC. Subsequent Ancón sequences, two *Chira* phases (ca 1650 to 1300 BC), followed by three *Colinas* phases (dated ca 1300 to 1175), are followed by a final phase (1175 to 1000 BC) before the appearance of Chavín-related elements around 1000 BC. Finally at Curayacu, near San Bartolo, two early phases (Curayacu A,B) contain some elements which also occur in the last four Initial phases at Ancón (*Colinas* and the final Initial phase) attesting *some* contact between the two areas. There is also evidence of contacts between Ancón and the Supe Lighthouse site to the North (Willey and Corbett 1954, Patterson 1971:32). However, whilst some rare pieces show the appearance of the Chavín- or Chavín-influenced style both at Ancón and at Supe, no such contacts are found at this stage in Curayacu.

Column 4: Patterson (1968)

In a short review of his excavations at the Ancón shell-mounds, Patterson (1968) describes some of the ceramic assemblages. As these are relevant to the Ancón figurines, his pottery sequence is set out in the comparative chart.

Column 5: Patterson's (1971) outline of the Early Horizon

A schematic overview for the area from Ancón to Curayacu during the Early Horizon (Middle Formative) is given by Patterson (1971:32-37): During epochs 1 and 2 there are "...at least three distinctive ceramic styles". The most widespread one, because it also appears in other areas, the Yanamanka style, contains clear Chavín elements, without local admixture. Another style (or styles) is represented by the survival of the late Initial Period elements both at Ancón and Curayacu and are different from each other, though the contacts between the areas seem to have increased. The third set of styles combines elements of the Yanamanka style with the local traditions at both sites. These last styles and the Yanamanka style itself gradually eliminate the local traditional elements.

Epochs 3 and 4 see a marked "regional diversification". The styles which develop, not only at Ancón and Curayacu, but in the Lower Rimac and Lurín valleys as well, have much in common, but "can be distinguished by their selection of different elements for emphasis". And—curiously—they bear no relation with the Yanamanka style. Curayacu is abandoned at the end of epoch 4.

Patterson admits that the data for the later Early Horizon had not been analyzed at this point—this is still true to-day. Regional sequences continue until epoch 7: they lack Chavín design elements, though they retain some surface texturing techniques. Patterson speaks of "increased isolation...and warfare" at the end of the Early Horizon.

Column 6: Willey and Corbett's (1954): excavations in the Ancón shell-middens and at Puerto Supe

The excavated pottery is well described and illustrated, but the sample is small. As the only comparative material came from Uhle's excavation in the Ancón shell-middens (Strong 1925:152-156 and 174-176), Willey and Corbett had no wider framework into which to fit their sequence. In the wake of Tello's discovery of the Chavín style, the authors believed Early Ancón/Supe to be a local manifestation of that particular horizon style (1954:153), not realising that their material covered a much longer time span. But they did recognise a sequential development of the assemblage, sub-divided into Early, Middle and Late Early Ancón (1954:164). Their principal merit is to have highlighted the close links between Ancón and the northern part of the Central Coast. Also, their careful seriation—especially the stratigraphy of their Pit I, circa 100 m. from the Tank Site (see Chart 1)—has proved useful to later scholars, such as Lanning, R. Matos, R. Fung or H. Rosas working with the same material, and for my figurine chronology (see below).

Column 7: Fung (1969), incorporating data from Willey and Corbett (1954), E.Lanning (unpublished papers) and R. Matos (1962, 1966, 1968):

Lanning's chronological sequence for the Central Coast, based on his own work in the Ancón shell-middens (near the Tank site) and Engel's excavations at Curayacu, has not been widely available. It is known to us through Fung's critical analysis (1969:147-151 and fig. 25) and through references in many other studies. At Ancón there are three phases (Chira, Early Ancón 1, Early Ancón 2). Later excavations produced a somewhat different ceramic assemblage (Colinas 1 and 2), which Lanning eventually placed 250 years later than his Early Ancón 2. Fung (1969:146-150 and Table B, opposite p.140) argues for a contemporaneity between the Colinas material and at least part of Early Ancón 2. The material spans most of the Formative.

Lanning's sequence for Curayacu is divided into four phases (Curayacu 1 to 4). Phases 1 and 2 belonging to the end of the Initial Period, 3 and 4 to the beginning of the Early Horizon (epochs 1 to 4? see Fung 1969, Patterson 1971). Curayacu phases are also referred to by letters which appear equivalent to the numbers, at least for A and B = 1 and 2 (Shady 1983:30); I only came across one reference to phase C, placing it in the Initial Period (?) (Ravines et al 1982:144) and none to phase D.

Another scholar, who also excavated at the Ancón shell-middens near the Tank Site in 1960-1961 was R. Matos Mendieta: his material is analyzed in his unpublished master's dissertation (1962) and the findings summarised in two articles, (1966) and (1968). Basically Matos divides the material into three, later four phases (A to D) spanning the Early and Middle Formative.

In her doctoral dissertation about Las Aldas, Rosa Fung Pineda (1969) establishes an extensive comparison between the Ancón materials and sequences of Willey and Corbett, Lanning, and R. Matos. Briefly summarised Fung's sequence has the following phases (1969:chapter XXII, in particular 152-160); the correlation with the absolute chronology is based on Fung's Table B (1969:140):

- *Ancón 1*: mainly plain ware from the lowest strata (8m to 6.50 m) of Willey and Corbett's Pit 1 - their Early Period—also roughly corresponding to Lanning's (and Patterson and Moseley's 1968) Chira phase and to Matos's phases a and b.
- *Ancón 2*: covers the ceramics described in Willey and Corbett's Middle Period (6.50 m to 4.50 of Pit I), part of Matos' phase c, the lower strata of Lanning's Early Ancón 1 and is contemporary with Curayacu 1 and 2 (Fung 1969:147)¹.

¹ In her final correlation Fung also includes into Ancón 2 and Ancón 3 Lanning's Colinas material; as this material is not relevant to the figurines, it is not covered here.

- *Ancón 3*: covers the beginning of Willey and Corbett's Late Period (4.25 m to 2.25 m of Pit I), and straddles the later part of Lanning's Early Ancón 1 and the beginning of his Early Ancón 2. It is contemporary with Lanning's Curayacu 3 and part of Curayacu 4. It appears to take up an intermediary position between Matos' phases c and d. This phase sees the appearance of the Bichrome type of pottery, which some scholars see as a first sign of Chavín influence on the Central Coast. This is Willey and Corbett's Ancón Zoned Red: "The zoned red areas are brick red and contrast with the browner color of the undecorated portions...Both curvilinear and rectilinear designs are represented (1954:43 and fig.8c,e,g,h). According to Fung, this type actually is coeval with classic Chavín, though it could have much earlier local antecedents (1969:158).
- *Ancón 4*: yields classic Chavín pottery, corresponding to part of Willey and Corbett's Late Period (2.25m to 1.50 m at Pit I), the latter part of Lanning's Early Ancón 2 (followed by a gap at Ancón between 500 and 250 BC) and to the end of Curayacu 4. Matos's phase d, subdivided into d-1 and d-2, allegedly only shows up classic Chavín in its later part (d-2), whilst the first sub-phase d-1 yields the Bichrome pottery.
- *Ancón 5*: covers the post-Chavín style at Ancón, extending into the first phase (Base Aerea) of the Miramar style, as defined by Patterson 1966.

From the very detailed discussion of the ceramics, one would assume that Fung had practical knowledge of the assemblages involved, in particular of Lanning's materials, both from Ancón and Curayacu. There are, however, discrepancies between her analysis and other, nearly contemporary, studies (see below). The main problem is her equating Lanning's Colinas 2 with the classic Chavín phase at Ancón, whereas this pottery style is now seen as pre-Chavín, even though Chavín influences were starting to be felt (Patterson 1971:32). This also leads Fung to extend the last stages of the Curayacu occupation to the end of the Early Horizon, whereas it was allegedly abandoned at the end of epoch 4 (Patterson 1971:35). But Fung's absolute dates (1969:181) are not too far off the mark, with Ancón 4/Curayacu 4 starting at about 700 BC.

It is not clear whether scholars like Lanning, Patterson or Fung ever had access to the considerable material excavated by the MNAA under R. Carrión Cachot and T. Mejía Xesspe in the same area. According to Haas (1986:21) no fewer than 264 graves were excavated here. The value of these gravelots for seriating the assemblages would be inestimable, but except for a brief description (Carrión Cachot 1948) this material has never been published.

Column 8: Hermilio Rosas Lanoir's (1970) excavations at Ancón.

The last important excavations at and near the Tank site (Colinas) were undertaken by Hermilio Rosas Lanoir, between 1961 and 1967. Rosas uncovered part of an Early Formative ceremonial structure and a number of middens containing Early and Middle Formative material, including a large number of pottery figurines.



For this reason and because—under the name of *Ancón* or *Estilo Ancón*—it is now widely used to correlate Central Coast material, Rosas's chronology is of particular importance to us. From a chronological chart in his unpublished dissertation (1970) it appears that Rosas established a ceramic sequence for the material he excavated, consisting of 10 phases, three of which belong to the Early Formative, the seven later ones, roughly dated to 1000 BC to AD, covering the Middle and Late Formative. But in his text Rosas further correlates some of his later phases with phases of what he calls the *Periodo Chavinoide* at Ancón (f.i. p.192: *Fase VIII = Fase V del Periodo Chavinoide*)¹.

From references to Rosas's chronology in other authors (Shady 1983:30, Ravines et al 1982:226), it would appear that this correlation eventually became the accepted chronology. Rosas's *Periodo Chavinoide*, now referred to as the *Estilo Ancón*, has eight phases, belonging to the Middle and Upper Formative, no distinction being made between phases when the Chavín influence is clearly present and those when it is not².

It is this accepted chronology that I set out in my comparative table. Since Rosas's absolute chronology places the end of this period rather late (around AD), I have adjusted the phases to correspond with the general consensus of the other authors, the Rosas's *Chavinoide* phases falling between 1000 and 300 BC and actually correlating with Early Horizon epochs 1 to 8.

Column 9: R.Ravines et al., (1982): excavations at Garagay, Rimac Valley

The rescue and restoration work at Garagay in the lower Rimac valley, one of the largest U-shaped ceremonial sites on the Central Coast, has provided valuable elements for the chronology of the Formative. In his analysis of the ceramic material from Garagay, Ravines (Ravines et al 1982) stresses that his material comes from a disturbed context, i.e. mostly from fill of the various construction phases (1982:136, 226). However, he identifies four ceramic traditions at the site (1982:136-137) a classification which he surprisingly modifies in his final summing up (1982:226-227):

1. The Curayacu tradition, mainly in its phase B and C (1982:136, 143-144).

¹ H. Rosas kindly allowed me to examine the figurines and his dissertation. Unfortunately, I had only time to look at his dating of the figurines, without being able to study his chronology in depth.

² Shady's reference to Rosas chronology (1983:30) is confusing. In a study of the Formative at Maranga, Rimac valley, she speaks of eight phases, "...the three first ones belonging to the Early Formative, the later ones, called Ancón..." (my translation). This would mean that there are five later phases. However amongst the late phases, Shady speaks of Ancón 2 and 3, which shows that the three early phases are not part of the Ancón sequence proper. In fact there are three early phases and eight *Estilo Ancón* phases. This is confirmed by Ravines et al (1982:226) who refers to Ancón phases 1 and 2 as contemporary with early Chavín influences, and also refers to a phase 6, clearly indicating that the late part of the sequence extends beyond five phases.

2. The Colinas traditions (1982:138, 154).

Ravines considers these two pottery traditions as contemporary, dating to the end of the Initial/Early Formative Period (1982: 226)

3. The Ancón tradition, including an assemblage related to Ancón phases 1 and 2, representing local forms following the appearance of Chavín influence on the Central coast, and an assemblage corresponding to phases 5 and 6 at Ancón, showing classic Chavín traits (1982: 138, 226).

4. The Huachipa tradition, resembling both late Formative styles from the South Coast, such as Topará, and from the Far North (1982: 138, 227).

In absolute terms, four C¹⁴ dates for the site span the period from 1400 to 780 BC. Allowing for margins of error, Ravines sees the occupation of Garagay as having lasted 800 years in all, till about 600 BC (1982:135, 227). These dates appear somewhat early, especially as far as his "Ancón tradition" is concerned. We also know that the Huachipa tradition appears in the Late Formative (see below, chapter 6). In my chronological table Ravines's data have been adjusted as far as the absolute chronology is concerned.

Column 10: J. Silva et al.,(1982), J. Palacios (1988): Reconnaissance and surface collections at Huachipa-Jicamarca. Rimac Valley.

Huachipa, an archaeological site cluster, on both banks of the Rimac, near Vitarte on the Central highway—also incorporating the lower part of the Quebrada de Jicamarca, near the ruins of Cajamarquilla—has been exploited since the 1960s for brickworks. The site (or sites) has yielded a vast amount of ceramic material, including many figurines, retrieved in the course of the brick production, but not excavated scientifically, dating to the Formative, the Early Intermediate Period and very likely later.

Independent investigations and seriations were carried out by J. Silva and J. Palacios. Silva and his team named the Middle and Late Formative pottery of the site the Huachipa-Jicamarca style, subdividing it into four phases (A to D). But since most of the figurine fragments in this sample were collected by Palacios, it is his chronology that we must examine in detail..

Originally Palacios agreed with Silva's subdivisions, but felt that phases C and D could be further subdivided (personal communication). However in a fairly extensive publication of his material from the site (1988) Palacios suggests a new 5-phase chronology, extending the time span from the Early Formative to EIP epoch 3/4, without however explicitly correlating his phases with the epochs.

Palacios now applies the name Jicamarca (*Temprano, medio, tardio*) only to material dating to the Early Formative, predating Silva's Jicamarca A. However Palacios Jicamarca phase cannot start earlier than the very end of the Early Formative, since it includes long-necked bottles and zoned, incised and punctated designs (1988:figs.1-3, 5, 6), related to the earlier (Ofrendas) phase of the Chavín style¹. The following Ventana phase, specifically dated to the Middle Formative and therefore replacing Silva's Huachipa-Jicamarca A and B, is represented by a small sample, featuring some classic (Rocas) Chavin stirrup jars (1988: photo 4). I suggest therefore that the Jicamarca phases belong to the end of the Early Formative and the beginning of the Middle Formative (Early Horizon phases 1-3), whereas the Ventana phase belongs to the classic phases of the Middle Formative (Early Horizon phases 4-6). The later phases, to which majority of the figurines from Huachipa belong, are discussed in chapter 6.

Although there are many shared traits between the Middle Formative figurines from the various Central Coast sites, a classification by site—rather than by stylistic groups—allows a clearer presentation of the material.

THE FIGURINES OF THE LOWER AND MIDDLE FORMATIVE (INITIAL PERIOD AND EARLY HORIZON)

GROUP 1: FIGURINES FROM ANCÓN

• SUB-GROUPS 1.1 TO 1.4

Table 2 Catalogue: vol.II, pp. 289-202 Plates 1-2

Sample: 41 Figurines, mostly fragments.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

When classifying the figurines excavated at the Tank site in Ancón by Uhle, Rosas and the MNAA, I have followed Rosas (1970) classification for his figurines into three groups (my sub-groups), also incorporating some specimens listed by Rosas as miscellaneous, but which typologically belong to his groups 1 and 3. I have added a fourth sub-group for the figurines found by the MNAA, which represent a somewhat different type.

¹ These comparisons are based on Lumbreras 1971 and 1977. Note that in the earlier work, Lumbreras considered the Rocas style to precede the Ofrendas style; this order was reversed as the result of further excavations.

Sub-group 1

By far the most numerous of the Ancón sub-groups. Standing medium-sized figurines with a rounded or—more rarely—elongated head with incised hair. The features, also incised, consist of large eyes with incised lids and deep punctated pupils, a nose with punctated nostrils and a straight mouth; ears are often indicated by circular earrings. The fish-like body is elongated, tapering from the shoulders towards the legs. Arms are rarely shown, though diagonal incisions on the body may represent stylized arms. Legs can be joined to form a single extremity or separated by a groove; fin-like incisions may represent toes. Genitals are not shown, one specimen has sagging breasts, but the overall impression is that of a female representation. The flat back is generally featureless; one specimen is a hunchback. Some clothing, especially elaborate collars, can be shown, as well as necklaces and ear-plugs; one specimen wears a head-dress.

The figurines are hand-made and solid (one possibly hollow). Many have a black (sometimes grey- or brownish black), often shiny surface; the decor consists of deep, fairly broad incised lines (occasionally also some stippling) and many specimens show traces of post-fired paint (mainly red, white, yellow), filling the incisions.

Sub-group 2

Head fragments of six hollow figurines. The modelled and/or incised features vary; note the narrow incised eyes with central punctation. The surface colour shows variations of terracotta to brown, the decor is incised, but the lines are thinner and sharper than in sub-group 1.

Sub-group 3

Four solid head fragments modelled in the round. Features include narrow slanting eyes, formed by a single deep incision, with a punctation marking the pupil, as well as elaborate headgear and ear-plugs. The eroded surface varies in colour (grey, terracotta, etc.); two specimens show traces of red or black paint in the incisions.

Sub-group 4

Consists of two black ware figurines with modelled and incised decor; both are hollow, though only one has air-holes. One is very likely a female, with a naturalistic head (rounded, with incised hair), features, and body; there is some modelling of the thoracic cage and an outlined groin, the arms are placed along the body, the legs are separated by a groove. The back also shows some modelling. The other figurine lacks its head, but the heavy body is less naturalistic. That, as well as the elaborate clothing and the serpent-like staff, all point to a mythical being (see discussion).

DISCUSSION

Special features

Most head fragments (except those in sub-group 2) show signs of cranial deformation of the fronto-occipital variety. This reflects the evidence of skeletal material for the Formative Period on the Central Coast, which shows a 100% application of this practice (Newman 1947:Table 3)¹. Some figurines (2276, 2277, 2278 in sub-group 1 and the figurines in sub-group 3) may have a *deformación por llautu*, resulting in an elongated head (Weiss 1962). This type of deformation was practised in the Sierra. It occurs on Central Coast figurines in the late Middle Horizon and especially in the Late Intermediate Period Chancay style.

2299 (sub-group 1) is obviously a hunchback. This is the first instance of this deformity which becomes quite common during the Late Intermediate Period and has a magic/mythical connotation (see Chancay 1.1, special features).

669 (sub-group 4) obviously shows an important, possibly anthropomorphic mythical being. The missing head may have had attributes like fangs (see Garagay, below). The shape of the body is human, but very massive and the broad hands look like paws. The figure wears a belt or loin-cloth with a central panel hanging down at the front and back and an incised decor possibly imitating a snake-skin. Other incised decorative elements—representing body-paint or a textile garment—include three heads with pendant tongues (around the shoulders at the back), *fleur-de-lys* designs (also at the back), flower-like designs on the sides of the legs and circles on the knees. The most striking feature is a staff in the shape of a serpent, with a central groove and overlapping scales, held vertically along the middle of the body. Some of these decorative elements can be found in Early Horizon contexts elsewhere:

- A belt or loin-cloth with panels hanging at the front and back—though lacking the snake-skin decor— occur on Tembladera figurines (Lapiner 1976: figs. 55, 62);
- The same figures hold a flute to their lips: the position of the instrument and the decor (with a central groove) does recall the staff of our figurine, but the latter is longer and does not appear to have been held to the lips;
- The staff itself, often with snake elements, is an integral attribute of the Chavín deity (Lapiner 1976:fig.116), but it is always shown at the side (or sides) of the figure, never held along the front;
- Demons with a pendant tongue, mostly attached to serpent bodies, are common on Paracas textiles (Lapiner 1976:fig.161; Anton 1984:fig.68);
- I was unable to find Early Horizon parallels for the *fleur-de-lys* design.

¹ The relevant skeletal material was recovered by the Columbia University Expedition in the Supe area. Unfortunately the much larger samples from various excavations in the shell-mounds at Ancón has—to my knowledge—never been studied.

Links with other groups

As can be expected the Ancón material is closely linked to figurines from Curayacu. A striking resemblance exists between the famous Curayacu figure (667) and an Ancón sub-group 4 figurine (668). They have similar hair styles (fringe on the forehead, central parting with hair strands arranged laterally at the front, then combed backwards and hanging down below the neck in the back), semi-circular eyes set in modelled eye-sockets, grooves indicating the rib-cage, arms outlined by a groove and placed along the sides of the body (the hands are placed over the abdomen on 667), short tapering legs. Both figurines are hollow, with an air-hole at the anus. Both figurines also share common traits with some Ancón sub-group 1 specimens: the arrangement of the hair (666, 2288, 2292 and others, but there the hair is not shown in the back) and the body (2297), with outlined rib-cage and arms along the sides. There is also some resemblance with a head-fragment (P14) from Cardal, Lurín (see below), though this closer to the Curayacu figurine.

In addition solid figurines with incised decor and post-fired red or white paint, similar to Ancón sub-group 1 figurines were found at Curayacu (see below P17, P19)¹.

Eyes like those of 2292 (Ancón sub-group 1) and of sub-group 3 figurines—a deep, narrow incision with a deep punctation marking the pupil—also occur on Curayacu figurines (P17 and P19). Other instances with such eyes are rare: one is a figurine from the Kotosh phase at Shillacoto, Huanuco (Izumu et al., 1972: Pl.33.2) which also wears a similar headdress; another is the so-called “Scribe”, a figurine from the Frías area (MNAA 41440), considered a very early local variant of the Vicús culture.

One of the most curious links is that existing between Ancón sub-group 1 figurines and late Chancay black ware figurines with post-fired red, white and yellow incrustations (see Chancay 1.6.2). Obviously the Chancay population at Ancón must have come across these earlier figurines and copied them!

Context

Since both Uhle's and Rosas' excavations in the so-called Ancón shell middens (see Appendix 2) only encountered a few simple burials lacking grave-goods, we must assume that the figurines of sub-groups 1 to 3 were used in a domestic context, either as household gods or for curing or other magical practices. Although Rosas also excavated part of a ceremonial structure, he confirmed that all the figurines came from a midden context.

¹ A small incised bird (Engel 1956:figs. 9C) has post-fired white, red and *green* pigments, the latter colour not recorded at Ancón.

The two specimens in sub-group 4, on the other hand, were excavated in the adjacent necropolis and—although we have no data about their exact context—we can assume that they were grave-goods. The difference in style between the various sub-groups could indicate a difference in use, but it is more likely that they reflect a time difference (see below, chronology).

Geographic distribution

Judging from a map (Scheele 1970) drawn by Patterson from an aerial photograph of the Tank Site, all the Ancón figurines were found within a radius of about 200 m. from the water tank. Uhle's excavation is not shown on this map, but can be located by reference to Willey and Corbett's map II (1954:6). I was unable to study the lay-out of Rosas' excavations nor to differentiate between various areas and strata from the markings on the figurines themselves (see Table 2).

Chronology (refer to Chronological chart 1 and key)

Sub-group 1

Rosas (1970:220) dates this sub-group from Ancón 3 to Ancón 7, with a peak in frequency during "... the classic epoch of the Chavín tradition, associated with the bichrome phase..."(my translation). From this material as well as from Fung's chronology it is obvious that the peak period must have been Ancón 6.

As far as I am aware Rosas' material contains only one phase 3 figurine (2298, listed under miscellaneous no.4, see 1970:223) and two phase 4 figurines: a large foot fragment (2308, miscellaneous no.5, see 1970: 224) and a orange ware body fragment (probably 2297, referred to indirectly on p.192 and illustrated in *Lámina XVIIIb*). The bulk of the material belongs to phases 5 and 6, with 2281, 2283, 2289, 2291 specifically mentioned as phase 5, and 2282, 2277, 2279, 284, 2286, 666 as phase 6 (1970:192, 205,218-220); the fragment of a hunchback (2299, miscellaneous no.1, 1970:223) is assigned to phase 7.

Unfortunately some difficulties occur with Rosas' dating:

- When showing me his figurines, Rosas pointed out the development—in time—of the lower body, from an undivided fish-like tail (e.g.2280), to a beginning of a division (e.g.2293, 2294) to a clear representation of two extremities (e.g.2295). If this sequence is correct, it is surprising to find that Rosas assigns a body fragment with fish-tail (2279) and a beginning of separation into two legs (666) to the late Ancón 6 phase; not to speak of the fully divided feet of 2305 assigned to phase 4.
- In a schematic drawing of the ceramic sequence at the Tank Site, Rosas shows figurines with a high asymmetric hairstyle as the earliest in the sequence. And yet in his listings, 2277, with just such a hairstyle, is assigned to phase 6.

- In addition to these internal contradictions, I find that there is no significant iconographic difference between the given phases: the body of 2298, assigned to phase 3, and that of 2279, assigned to phase 6, are very similar, except for the colour, which on 2298 may be due to erosion; equally there is little difference between a phase 5 head like 2289 and a phase 6 head like 666.

If we test Rosas' dating against other ceramic sequences from the site, we find that the ware types used for sub-group 1 figurines correspond to Willey and Corbett's Ancón Line Incised (1954:37-38), Ancón Stippled (1954:49-50) and Ancón Polished Black (1954:53); all three types have a very long life span (the first type occurs throughout the sequence, the latter two in the middle and late phases). There is no mention of post-fired decor in Willey and Corbett's excavation, but this occurs in:

- Patterson's Balta phase (1968:423), during Early Horizon 3, 4 (e.g. Ancón 3 and 4);
- Lanning's Early Ancón II, which Fung (1969:147) correlates with the 3.25 to 0.00m strata of Willey and Corbett's Pit I (i.e. from about Ancón 3 onwards);
- at Garagay this decor is said to be typical for Ancón 6 (Ravines et al 1982:227)
- at Huachipa this decor occurs on a Late Jicamarca figurine, probably dating to Ancón 3 (see below, Huachipa)
- at Maranga, already during Ancón 2 (Shady 1983:30);
- at Curayacu (Engel 1956:Figs.9A,C), not later than Ancón 4, when the site was allegedly abandoned.

These additional data rather widen the time span for this type of ware: it is possible that more fragments actually belonged to phases 3 and 4. But in the absence of other data, I have broadly followed Rosas' dating—including three fragments excavated by Uhle—trying to accommodate all the indications he gave me (see above and chronological order on Table 2). Although the starting point could be before EH 4, the bulk of the sub-group dates to phases 5 and 6.

Sub-group 2

This sub-group is dated by Rosas (1970:222) to Ancón 5 and 6 (e.g. EH 5, 6). I have been unable to identify decorated red wares in other excavations that match up with this sub-group.

Sub-group 3

This sub-group of elaborate head fragments (including two from Uhle's excavation) is dated to Ancón 6 by Rosas, though a not dissimilar specimen from Curayacu (P19) and the specimen from Shillacoto (Izumi et al., 1972: Pl.33.2), dating to the Kotosh phase, should be earlier (EH phase 3, 4?).

Sub-group 4

668 is iconographically related to sub-group 1, but is distinct because hollow. In spite of its more sophisticated aspect and manufacturing technique, this figurine dates probably not later than Ancón 4: the chest and position of the arms resembles 2297 (sub-group 1), assigned to phase 4 by Rosas. It also resembles the Curayacu figurine 667, which should not be later than phase 4, when the site was abandoned. If we correlate these specimens with a similar Cardal figurine (P14, see below), they may date to phase EH 3 or 4?

The elaborate 669 clearly shows Chavín influences: the rather shallow and curvilinear incisions are more reminiscent of the earlier Ofrendas-type Chavín pottery (see p.51, note 1). Therefore, like 668, it probably pre-dates Ancón phase 4.

GROUP 2: FIGURINES FROM CENTRAL COAST SITES OTHER THAN ANCÓN

GARAGAY, RIMAC VALLEY

Garagay is a large ceremonial site situated on the right bank of the Rimac, 2 km from Lima airport. Three main structures, surrounding a vast esplanade, form a typical U-shaped ceremonial center, characteristic for the Formative Period. Excavations undertaken in 1959 and again in 1974 investigated structure A, to the east of the main pyramid and part of the central structure (B), facing north across the esplanade. The latter shows evidence of at least three phases of construction, the excavations uncovered sections of the last and middle phases, the *Templo Tardío* and *Templo Medio* respectively. Both were adorned with remarkable reliefs, but those of the earlier excavation have unfortunately been destroyed and the records lost (Ravines and Isbell 1975).

81 fragments of figurines were recovered from various fills and midden deposits. None of these are illustrated, but from the description (Ravines et al 1982:158) they appear related to the Huachipa figurines. Although Huachipa figurines date mainly to the Late Formative/early Early Intermediate Period (see below, chapter 6), a few appear at the beginning of the Middle Formative (see below). The absence of any figurines resembling the Ancón material¹ may indicate that—as Burger stipulates (1991:185)—the site “ceased to be a major ceremonial center” during the Early Horizon, though Ravines did recover Ancón type pottery (see chronology above). We have to wait for the publication of the figurine material.

¹ Scheele (1970:fig.69 j) illustrates a solid fragment of joined feet, very similar to those of Ancón sub-group 1; the caption reads “from a site in Lurín and Rimac” (sic!), but the fragment is listed on Table 18 as coming from PV47-19 e.g., Garagay.

In addition to these unpublished figurine fragments, three very curious plaster figurines were found at Garagay (Ravines and Isbell 1975: 265-266, Figs. 28/29, 30/31, 32, 33¹). Although strictly speaking these figurines fall outside the scope of this study because they are not made of pottery, their interest—both iconographically and functionally—is such, that they deserve a short mention here (Fig. 1)



Fig. 1.1



Fig. 1.2



Fig. 1.3



Fig. 1.4

Fig. 1: Partial view of plaster figurines from Garagay, after Ravines and Isbell (1975):

Fig. 1.1 = fig. 32; Fig. 1.2 = fig. 28; Fig. 1.3 = fig. 29; Fig. 1.4 = fig. 30

The three figurines are made by applying plaster on a core (thread wound around a small stone for fig. 32, wooden stick surrounded by leaves and fibres for fig. 28, not described for fig. 30), on which the features were simply painted (fig. 32) or modelled and painted (figs. 28 and 30). No measurements are given. Fig. 32 has circular eyes, large nostrils and a large mouth with upper teeth and two large fangs. Figs. 28 and 30 have elliptic eyes with an incised outline, large noses with nostrils and *alae*; both have a large mouth (incised, with applied teeth on fig. 28, modelled and painted, with white lips, two fangs pointing upwards and two downwards on fig. 30). Fig. 30 has hair made of fibre, held back by a leather strap. The body of fig. 32 shows some unidentifiable painted features; otherwise the bodies are featureless, except for modelled arms, with hands showing naturalistic fingers with fingernails on fig. 28. Figs. 28 and 30 were wrapped in woven cloth. Fig. 28 had its arms tied underneath to the body by some thread; in one hand it held a small thorny stick. Fig. 30 was completely dressed under the outer wrapping, with a small stone covered in thread by its side, and two small thorny sticks, their barbs intact, similar to the thorny *staffs* attached to fig. 32 on either side.

The figurines were found in the Late Temple stratum, in circular pits (a, b and c), into which wooden columns supporting the roof were secured; these pits are also referred to as offering pits. Figure 32 was found in pit a. The stratigraphy of pit b is ambiguous because it

¹ It is not clear whether we are dealing with three or four figurines: the figurine referred to in the text (p. 265) as fig. 33 is obviously fig. 32, found in pit A. The caption under fig. 33 says that this “offering” was found in pit B of the *Templo Tardio*, whilst a caption for fig. 28 says that the figurine depicted was found in pit B of the *Templo Medio*. The text states that pit B could date to the *Templo Tardio* or the *Templo Medio* and that the figurine found in this pit is fig. 28/29. I suspect that the (stone?) object represented on fig. 33 comes from the 1959 excavation and that it is not described in this text.

was enlarged during the construction of the Late Temple but the figurine (fig.28) could have been part of an earlier fill, dating to the Middle or even the Early Temple. The stratigraphy of pit c, where the third figurine was found, is not discussed (Ravines and Isbell 1975: 265).

On the basis of the resemblance of fig.32 with the "Smiling God", associated with the Old Temple at Chavín de Huantar, the authors conclude that the Late Temple at Garagay is contemporary with the Old Temple at Chavín, dating to about 1000 BC. As for the Middle Temple, the freezes show some Chavín traits though many others are absent. It therefore precedes the spread of Chavín on the Central Coast, pre-dating the Late Temple by about two centuries (Ravines and Isbell 1975:266). Although Chavín de Huantar is now seen to be considerably later (Burger 1992), this Garagay chronology is in keeping with the radiocarbon dates from the site, ranging from 1400 to 750 BC. It would appear therefore that the plaster figurines are significantly earlier than any of the ceramic traditions recorded from disturbed contexts at the site (see above, chronology).

HUACA LA FLORIDA, RIMAC VALLEY

Huaca La Florida is another U-shaped complex on the right bank of the Rimac, 11 km from its mouth. The large pyramid was started at the end of the Preceramic, ca. 2150 BC, and abandoned before about 1750 BC, though reused at the end of the Early Horizon. An unfired clay figurine (Patterson 1985:63, not illustrated) was retrieved from refuse deposits overlaying a clay pavement at the base of the structure (1985:Fig.4(E)). The earliest pottery at the site comes from the main floors above this pavement, which contained refuse deposits of a domestic nature. Therefore no hypothesis can be made as to the date and function of this object.

HUACHIPA, RIMAC VALLEY

Table 2 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.293 Plate 2

Sample: 1 figurine

Discussion

The site has yielded a number of figurines, the bulk dating to a later period (see chapter 6). As far as the Early/Middle Formative figurine is concerned, its specific context is unknown, since the Huachipa area, including the lower part of the Quebrada de Jicamarca., is totally disturbed by brickworks. There are habitational vestiges, as well as remnants of a U-shaped ceremonial structure and of burials (Palacios 1988 and personal communication).

The chronological position of 2309 is Early Jicamarca, dated to the Early Formative (or Initial Period) (Palacios 1988:13 and see explanations to chronology above). However the incised hair and eyes, with punctated pupils are strongly reminiscent of Ancón sub-group 1; some of the Early Jicamarca pottery (Palacios 1988: fig.1a and 2a) already shows some resemblance with early Chavín forms. Therefore I suggest that this figurine dates to the beginning of the Middle Formative, perhaps contemporary with Ancón 1 or 2 (EH 1,2)?

LURÍN VALLEY

Table 2 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 294 Plate 2

Sample: 7 figurine fragments

Discussion

During his research for his (unpublished) dissertation about the Chavín occupation of the Central Coast, H.G.Scheele (1970) did surface collections and test excavations at sites in the Lurín valley, finding a few figurine fragments described here.

P 9, a solid head fragment found at Malpaso (also known as Piedra Liza), does not resemble other Formative Central Coast figurines, but the fragment is small. P10, also from Malpaso, shows the two joined legs of a sitting figurine. P11 from Cardal and P12, probably also from Cardal (?), are fragments of separate lower legs and feet, not unlike 2308 from Ancón sub-group 1, except that these are hollow. One body fragment (P13) from Cardal shows an incised arm (?) folded upwards, another (P15) from Manchay Bajo (1970: Pl.27, upper right) has a modelled arm folded over the abdomen and a necklace.

The most interesting fragment is that of a hollow figurine head (P14), also from Cardal (1970: 161ff and Pl.19,20). Its realistic modelling and hairstyle and the manufacturing technique are reminiscent of the Curayacu specimen (667)¹. This fragment was found in the same location (PV 487-352:1, corridor A, layer A, e.g. upper 1m of fill) as P11 and P13.

R. Burger (personal communication) excavated "numerous figurine fragments at Cardal"². These fragments come from female figurines, like those found at Ancón or Curayacu in which the torso, arms and legs are modelled crudely, but the hair and face are treated with some care. One fragment of face rivals that of Engel's figurine (e.g.667) in quality; Scheele found the other

¹ Another small head fragment from Malpaso (Scheele 1970:pl.27,lower left) is not included in this study.

² Unfortunately these figurines have not been published to date.

half of it¹ but unfortunately his collections have been misplaced.”

Scheele’s figurine fragments come from various sites: Malpaso, a “small scale civic ceremonial center”, which survived at a time—during the early part of the Middle Formative—when larger Initial Period U-shaped structures were being abandoned (Burger 1992:70, 184), amongst them Manchay Bajo, the only U-shaped ceremonial structure on the right bank of the Lurín, and Cardal, a large population center with public architecture (Burger 1992:69), both sites where figurines were also found.

According to Burger (personal communication) “the context of the figurines [found at Cardal] varies. Many of them come from refuse in the household area ...but some come from the refuse found on the top of the pyramid. We have excavated about 20 burials and none were associated with figurines.”

Some Lurín figurines show a certain resemblance with Ancón figurines (P11, P12 with 2308/sg.1, P14 with 668/sg.4). Scheele (1970: 82,161ff) attributes P10, P13 and P14, found in the same stratum at Cardal, to a pre-Yanamarca style, which would date them to before the beginning of the Ancón sequence (see Patterson 1971 in chronology, above). But in view of the similarity with Ancón specimens and considering that Cardal was more or less abandoned around 700 BC (Burger 1992:184-185), the figurines could be contemporary with Ancón phases 1-3. The similarity of P14 with 667 from Curayacu also shows that they must at least predate the end of phase 4, when Curayacu was abandoned.

CURAYACU

Table 2 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 294-295 Plate 2

Sample: 1 figurine and 4 figurine fragments

Discussion

The Curayacu site is a rocky peninsula, with extensive shell middens, near the village of San Bartolo, circa 50 km south of Lima. F. Engel excavated at the site in 1955 and encountered various occupation levels: a Late Horizon occupation, possibly some Middle Horizon occupation and—without a marked interruption between the strata—a prolonged Formative occupation, with two phases belonging to the Early Formative or Initial Period, and two later Chavinoid (Middle Formative or Early Horizon) phases (Engel 1956; see above chronology).

¹ See P14.

Engel mentions “numerous fragments of quite small anthropomorphic figurines, five to ten centimeters high”, but illustrates only five, all said to come from the Chavinoïd level. Three of them (667, P17, P19) are clearly related to contemporary figurines from Ancón and the Lurín valley. 667, one of the most remarkable figurines ever found in Peru, has a hairstyle reminiscent of a number of Ancón sg.1 figurines, a body and posture like 668 (Ancón sg.4) and facial traits similar to P14 from Cardal. P17 has a hairstyle like Ancón sg.1 figurines and narrow slanting eyes like Ancón sg.3. P19, with its pointed headdress and typical eyes is even closer to Ancón sg.3 specimens. It is likely that P17 and P19, like 667, represent females¹.

The manufacture also recalls Ancón figurines: P17, P19 have paint, probably post-fired, filling the incised decor. 667 is hollow, with one air-hole—amongst others—at the anus, like 668 (Ancón sg.4). Engel (1956:105) suggests that 667 might be mold-made: it did not appear so to me and there are no other known mold-made specimens on the Central Coast before the Middle Horizon, but the suggestion cannot be rejected out of hand.

As for the other two figurines, P16 and P18, there is nothing immediately comparable, but this may also be due to the small size of the fragments and the quality of the photographs. At a glance, I would have said that P16, with its cylindrical body, is related to the Middle Horizon Supe group (see chapter 10). However a Kotosh-Higueras figurine (Izumi and Sono 1963:Pl.152-1) also has a similar body and applied arms. There are no figurines reminiscent of P18.

Engel says that the figurine fragments were found in “refuse”. Unfortunately no details are given for the provenance of 667.

The chronological position of 667, P17 and P19 should be derived from the similarities with Ancón and Lurín figurines (see above). However, if—as stipulated by Patterson (1971)—the Formative settlement at Curayacu was abandoned at the end of phase 4, then some of the related Ancón figurines, especially sub-group 3 (to which P19 is related) should also be somewhat earlier. The similarity with the Shillacoto figurine (see above) also argues for an earlier dating, unless, of course, Curayacu was occupied beyond phase 4? We shall have to wait for a thorough reappraisal of the material from Rosas’ excavation to date the Middle Formative figurines with certainty.

¹ Engel sees P17 as a male and P19 as a “face sculpted on the chest of a male figurine”, probably mistaking the headdress projections for arm stumps, and the shoulders for hips? (1956: caption for figs.9A, 9F).].

CONCLUSION

At present a gap seems to exist in the figurine production on the Central Coast of Peru, between the Preceramic Period (see chapter 4), and the Middle Formative, with only a few specimens recorded during the Early Formative (Initial Period). The Early Formative specimens all come from the Rimac valley: one from Huaca La Florida, one from Huachipa and perhaps a few from Garagay (apart from the plaster specimens described above). This gap may be due to the archaeological record rather than to the actual state of affairs, though Initial Period figurines are also rare in other areas.

With the Middle Formative or Early Horizon we witness a marked increase in figurine finds. The majority are obviously related, with typical incised features, especially incised hair, some of them showing a high degree of sophistication. They appear on the Central Coast at the same time as Chavín influences are making themselves felt. Although one cannot speak of a specific connection—since pottery figurines are not found at Chavín de Huantar itself—Early and/or Middle Formative figurines also occur on the North Coast, especially at Tembladera and in the Central and Southern Highlands (Kotosh, Chanapata), though not on the South Coast, where they appear somewhat later (Paracas/Ocucaje).

Because of the nature of the excavations—small scale and mostly in a disturbed area—the context of the figurines and their function cannot be ascertained. The majority appear to come from domestic refuse rather than from graves. The fish-like shape of many Ancón specimens may point to a marine cult, within which the figurines could have functioned as offerings to ensure a rich catch, as can be expected from a population with a largely marine subsistence. As for the splendid figure from Cuarayacu it remains quite unique: not until the Late Intermediate Period Chancay culture do we see figures of such size, whilst the quality remains unsurpassed.

CHAPTER 6

THE FIGURINES OF THE LATE FORMATIVE AND EARLY PART OF THE EARLY INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

The transition between the Formative and the EIP—so obvious for the chronological master sequence at Ica—cannot be as clearly defined on the Central Coast. This time span fits better into Period 10 of the chronological sequence proposed by Macneish, Patterson and Browman (1971:47), though I would place its beginning marginally later.

Important stylistic changes mark the end of the Middle Formative (Early Horizon) Chavín predominance in the area. Some ceramic assemblages now show a strong influence from the South Coast Topara ceramic tradition (Jahuay phases 1-3) and late Ocucaje (phases 9 and 10), whilst the modelling shows North Coast impulses.

Simultaneously or marginally later we see the appearance of what has been called the White-on-Red Horizon (Willey 1948). "Horizon", because it manifests itself in a number of ceramic styles—each with strong local components—from Vicús, Salinár, Puerto Morrín, Patasca, Huaraz, Baños de Boza, Miramar, Huachipa/Jicamarca, Tablada de Lurín, Villa El Salvador, to Topara and even the Titicaca Basin (Lumbreras 1974a: 85f, Stothert 1980:290; Silva et al. 1982:66; and see below).

Since Patterson (1966) defined the Miramar style, which has been called the White-on-Red style of the Ancón area¹, much new material has come to light on the Central Coast, particularly in the Rimac and Lurín valleys. We now see a fairly homogenous ceramic complex or style, extending from Chancay to Chilca and preceding the Lima style on the Central Coast. Although one of its main component is the White-on-red style, it is not the only one, so it would be confusing to give it that name. The name Miramar would be equally unsuitable, since this style lacks some of the characteristic components, notably—so far—figurines. So for the time being the style will have to remain nameless. It must be stressed that, in spite of many shared traits, this style lacks the iconographic cohesion of Early Intermediate Period styles in other

¹ Only phases 1 and 2 of Patterson's Miramar style belong to the White-on-Red Horizon.

areas, such as Moche or Nasca. This may partly reflect a more fragmented ethnic, political or social structure on the Central Coast.

The chronological position of this complex or style on the Central Coast is not quite clear. Whilst Patterson (1966) assigns Miramar to the first four phases of the Early Intermediate Period, Lumbreras (1974a) includes White-on-Red styles, like Baños de Boza, in the Upper Formative. In more recent studies (Stothert 1980; Silva et al. 1982; Palacios 1988) several related assemblages straddle the Formative/Early Intermediate Period divide. The cross-dating of these groups to Late Formative and early EIP phases on the South Coast is convincing, but further studies will be necessary to determine their precise chronological position.

The chronological framework for this period is set out in the chronological chart 2.1¹: This chart combines the sequence established by Patterson for the EIP in the Ancón area (1966) with: assemblages from excavations containing figurines (Cerro Trinidad, Pachacamac), which were partly cross-dated by Patterson (1966:122-124, 130) and other ceramic groups, which have come to light since Patterson's study (Huachipa/Puruchuco, Tablada de Lurín, Villa El Salvador, Lapa Lapa) and which were cross-dated by Stothert (1980) and Silva et al. (1982). Finally some adjustments deriving directly from the study of the figurines.

As there is considerable confusion in older publications, with different names used to designate similar assemblages or the same name given to ceramic groups widely distant in time, Chronological Chart 2.2 presents a synopsis—by authors—of various Central Coast ceramic groups, from the Upper Formative to the Middle Horizon. The names of the assemblages or styles in italics are those given in the original publication. The chronological position is based on the comparative analysis of Patterson (1966:5, 34-36, 98-103) for the Early Intermediate Period and Menzel (1964) for the Middle Horizon.

The Chronology of the Late Formative (Early Horizon Epochs 9, 10) and the early part of the Early Intermediate Period (Epochs 1-3/4): Explanatory notes to Chart 2.1.

Column 1: Absolute chronology

This is a rough guideline based on a number of publications (Willey 1971, Lumbreras 1974, Menzel 1977 and others). For these authors the EIP starts somewhere between 200 BC and the beginning of our era and is followed by the Middle Horizon, from circa 550-600 AD to 900 or 1000 AD.

¹ The chart also shows the later EIP epochs and the MH.

Column 2: Relative chronology

The subdivisions are based on Rowe's master chronology, as applied by Patterson 1966 and Menzel 1964.

Column 3: Uhle's excavations at Cerro Trinidad Site E, Chancay Valley (Kroeber 1926b); Willey's excavations at Cerro Trinidad and Baños de Boza, Chancay Valley (Willey 1943a):

Cerro Trinidad is located just south of the town of Chancay; Site E, first excavated by Uhle in 1904, yielded Lima sherds above White-on-Red ceramics (Uhle 1910). The material, deposited at the Lowie Museum, Berkeley, was analysed by Kroeber (1926b). Puzzled by some of Uhle's data (notably White-on-Red vessels allegedly found in Lima-style burials) Willey excavated several test-pits at Site E during 1941, establishing the following stratigraphy (1943a:175-6):

- *White-on-Red* period, with White-decorated and White-zoned pottery.
- *Intermediate* period, between White-on-Red and Interlocking (i.e.Lima): White-decorated pottery on the decline, White-zoned increasing.
- *Interlocking* (i.e.Lima) period (see below, chapter 7).

The lower levels at Cerro Trinidad Site E cross-date with Baños de Boza (Willey 1943a:187)—a site which yielded no figurines—which in turn cross-dates with Villa El Salvador (Stothert 1980). All three sites share some architectural features as well. Stothert (1980) dates Baños de Boza to EIP 1-2, but the similarities with Huachipa and Tablada, as well as late Ancón, could indicate that its beginnings are somewhat earlier, a view shared by Lumbreras (1974:83). Because the site represents a single occupation phase, the name Baños de Boza is often used for the White-on-Red style of the Central Coast.

Column 4: Strong's (1925) analysis of Uhle's excavations at Ancón (MH onwards)

Column 5: Patterson's (1966) Miramar style at Ancón

The style and three of its four phases (*Base Aerea*, *Polvorín*, *Urbanización*) are named after sites around the bay of Ancón. Patterson's material, based on surface finds only, includes no figurines. Only the two first phases are specifically White-on-Red; Patterson (1966:5-33) dates the whole style to EIP 1-4. I have no knowledge of pottery of the early EIP from the Chillón valley.

Column 6: Palacios (1988): Reconnaissance and surface collections at Huachipa-Jicamarca, Rimac Valley.

For the location and early chronology see chapter 5 and chart 1. As we have seen, Palacios (1988) revises Silva's earlier chronology. For the period with which we are dealing here

Palacios (1988 and personal communication) replaces Silva's Jicamarca phase C, which shows strong influences from the South Coast Topara tradition and which Silva dates to the late Formative, with the Cerro and Pinazo phases, whilst Silva's phase D— said to represent the White-on-Red tradition—becomes the newly defined Huayco phase, which *should* date to phases 1-2 of the EIP, but appears to start later and last longer. In reality, as the material shows, it is the Pinazo phase which is contemporary with White-on-red assemblages, the Huayco phase extending beyond (EIP 3/4 or even later?). The length and exact chronological position of Palacios' phases is still debatable.

Columns 7, 8: Cajamarquilla, Maranga, Rimac Valley: see chapter 7.

Column 9: Stothert (1980): Villa El Salvador and Paredes (1986) El Panel, Tablada de Lurín

The two sites are located at about 1 km distance from each other, on the Tablada de Lurín, a large hilly area separating the Lurín from the Rimac valley. Pachacamac lies 1.5 km south of El Panel. Villa El Salvador consists of architectural remains, possibly of an elite building, later used as a cemetery (Stothert and Ravines 1977; Stothert 1980:292); El Panel is a cemetery of the same culture (Paredes 1986). No figurines were found in these sites, which is surprising because modelled vessels (animals and some humans) are quite common: these share a number of traits with figurines from the other sites listed here and have proved useful for cross-dating. The two phases of Villa El Salvador span the very end of the Formative and EIP 1/2.

Column 10: Cardenas (1981): Necrópolis de la Tablada de Lurín

The Necrópolis lies about 4 km to the north of Villa El Salvador on the Tablada de Lurín. Until the discovery of Villa El Salvador and El Panel, located in the same area, the site name *Tablada de Lurín* was used exclusively for an area of dwellings and in particular for a necropolis excavated since the 1960s by the Instituto Riva Agüero (Instituto Riva Agüero 1960:251-252).

Two distinct phases of occupation were recorded here, an earlier preceramic one (Tablada I) and a later one (Tablada II, III) which spans the Upper Formative and the beginning of the EIP, roughly from 400 BC to 300 AD (Cárdenas 1981:9, 122). Numerous figurines were retrieved from the 176 later burials. There are strong analogies with the material from Villa El Salvador, though strangely both *cantimploras* (canteen-shaped flasks) and figurines are lacking at the latter site. Both Cárdenas and Stothert date the beginning of Tablada II slightly earlier than Villa El Salvador 1, overlapping later.

Column 11: Strong and Corbett (1943), Menzel (1964): Pachacamac¹, Lurín valley.

Ceramics dating to the Upper Formative/early EIP, such as White-on-Red, were found at Pachacamac in very small quantities (Strong and Corbett 1943:88) and include one unpublished figurine fragment (1753).

Column 12: Quebrada de Chilca: the Lapa Lapa ceramic group

This small valley, some 70 km south of Lima, was studied by Engel in the early 1960s (Engel 1966b). He found a more or less continuous occupation, from the Preceramic to the present day. Late Formative/early EIP occupation was identified in the *Lapa Lapa* assemblage. On the basis of pottery from two Lapa Lapa sites shown her by Engel, Stothert (1980: 287) distinguishes two phases: an earlier one, with a White-on-Red component, contemporary with Baños de Boza and Villa El Salvador, and a slightly later one, dating to EIP 2.

THE FIGURINES OF THE LATE FORMATIVE AND THE EARLY PART OF THE EARLY INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Table 3 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.296-298 Plates 3,4

Sample: 56 figurines or figurine fragments².

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Strictly speaking this sample does not constitute a group, because many traits are only shared indirectly, by *linkage*. But I believe that these resemblances and the well documented provenances of the specimens, showing them to be roughly contemporary, justify treating them as a unit.

Characteristic traits shared by a majority of specimens are: a homogenous size, a featureless body with very short stump-like legs, large air-holes located at the sides. Most specific are the eyes, with inset eyeballs and pupils indicated by punctations. The nose is usually important, with punctated nostrils; the mouth is a straight deep incision. Headgear is often applied and decorated with deep gouge incisions and/or rows of holes. The majority of figurines are hand-made, hollow, with air-holes generally placed at the sides. The decor is applied, incised, punctated, rarely painted.

¹ For a description of the site see Appendix 1.

² This group contains 35 head fragments. As far as a careful examination allows to determine, the majority belong to figurines, but some may have been part of face-necks, particularly the larger heads (e.g. Huachipa 1118-1123). The sample does not include 81 figurine fragments from Garagay, said to belong to the Huachipa tradition (Ravines et al. 1978-1980: 158) and which have not been published.

Within the larger assemblages, some sub-groups could possibly be isolated. At Huachipa this has been done by Palacios (1988) who distinguishes different chronological phases. In Tablada two figurines (803 and 806) stand out from the others by their sophistication, though one of them (806) comes from the same burial as the unsophisticated 805.

DISCUSSION

Special features/ Links with other groups

The majority of specimens show a fronto-occipital cranial deformation: this deformation is actually recorded on 41 skulls from Tablada (Cárdenas 1981). It is a permanent feature on Central Coast figurines, with the exception of a few Middle Horizon specimens.

The inset pellet eyes (with small central punctation for the pupils) are shared by over 60% of the specimens. The technique varies slightly: at Huachipa and on some of the Tablada figurines the pellet fills the whole elliptic eye-socket, whereas some figurines from other sites also show narrow, elongated eye-sockets, into which a spherical pellet has been inserted. On one Puruchuco specimen (1113) the eyeball is inserted into raised applied eyelids, as may be the case at Garagay. Eyes there are described as “...ojos en forma de protuberancias elípticas, delimitados mediante una incisión fina y con punto central”. (Ravines et al.1982: 158).

Puruchuco face-neck- or figurine fragments show that the different techniques can occur together at the same site and are probably contemporary (fig.2). Similar eyes also feature on face-necks from Huachipa (Palacios 1988: fotos 9,10), Cerro Trinidad (Kroeber 1926b: Pl.89C, 90G¹; Willey

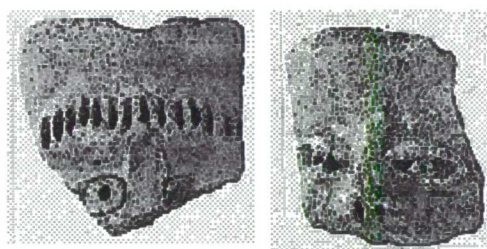


Fig. 2

1943a: fig.9e) and Villa El Salvador (Stothert and Ravines 1977: Lám.6.3). They have no antecedents on the Central Coast, but a similar technique is common on somewhat earlier North Coast figurines at Las Haldas (Ishida et al. 1960: fig.60), Cerro Sechín (unpublished figurines), the Nepeña Valley (Proulx 1985: Pl.11B) and Huaca Prieta (Bird, Hyslop and Skinner 1985: fig.30).

One Huachipa figurine (1121) has incised, circular eyes, with central punctations. Similar eyes also occur on Puruchuco face-necks (fig.3) and are standard for animal representations at contemporary sites (Palacios 1988: fotos 11,12; Willey 1943a:fig.9j-l; Stothert and Ravines 1977:lám. 6.1,6.2;

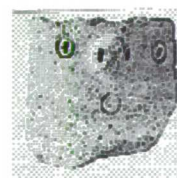


fig.3:

¹ Kroeber assigns these specimens to the Interlocking (i.e.Lima) style, but this may not be correct (see chapter 7).

Strong and Corbett 1943:fig.19a,b,e). Incised circular eyes or circle-and-dot eyes also occur on Middle and Late Formative North- and South Coast human and animal representations (many unpublished, but see Wilson 1988:fig.208e,f,i; Menzel, Rowe, Dawson 1964:245). This eye shape occurs again in later Central Coast groups (see Late MH group 6, chapter 10, and others).

Eyes shown as circular clusters of punctations are unique to Puruchuco 1109. Tablada 807 has raised eyes outlined by rows of punctations; a similar treatment occurs on an early EIP Gallinazo face-neck (Collier 1955:fig.26A). Huachipa (1122) has raised eyelids cut by a horizontal incision, also reminiscent of North Coast EIP specimens (Collier 1955:fig.29C and many Vicús figs).

The nose, always with incised nostrils, is often rooted high on the forehead, sometimes protruding above the crown. This trait has again parallels in local styles, either contemporary (Stothert 1980: fig.12A) or later (chapter 7), as well and on the North Coast (mainly Vicús).

1114, from Puruchuco, has applied teeth inserted in a gauged-out mouth cavity. A very similar treatment occurs on a face-neck? fragment from Puruchuco (fig.4) and at Villa El Salvador (Stothert and Ravines 1977: Lám.7.3)



Fig. 4

Facial markings: Incised lines (810, P21, 811) occur on South Coast Formative figurines and face-necks. Rows of punctations appear at Huachipa in the Cerro phase, continuing through Pinazo and Huayco (P22, 2220, 1122; Palacios 1988: fig.31c, foto 16). They also occur on one Tablada figurine (807) and on a contemporary (?) face-neck from Chancay (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.89C), on a Gallinazo face-neck (Collier 1955:fig.26A) and on a number of later Central Coast figurines (see chapter 9, group 1). Lines painted diagonally under the eyes (Cerro Trinidad 2141) also occur on a face neck from Cerro Trinidad (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.90G). Painted tearlines (Tablada 806) are unique for this time, but become very common later, mainly during the Middle Horizon.

The hollow, rotund body, tapering towards short stump-like legs, with large lateral air-holes is a break with the earlier local tradition (see chapter 5), but occurs later. There are again parallels with the early EIP on the North Coast (Virú, Vicús). Although the sex is never indicated, three Huachipa specimens have small breasts with punctated nipples. These become popular again in late Chancay and the Late Horizon.

805 and 807, from Tablada, have lug-like arms at waist level, reminiscent of contemporary jar forms (Stothert 1980:fig.7a-c). The pointed triangular fingers holding a bowl (Tablada 804)

also occur on a White-on-red hand fragment from Cerro Trinidad (Willey: 1943a:161), on a face-neck from Villa El Salvador (Stothert and Ravines 1977:ám.6.3) and on figurines of the same period from other areas (Fig.5: Ocucaje Culture; fig.6: Salinar culture; fig.7: Gallinazo culture). The latter also shares the circle-and-dot



Fig.5

eyes.

2220 from Huachipa has prominent ankle-bones. An earlier example occurs in Lurín (see P11, chapter 5). Contemporary examples are also known on the North Coast (fig.6). Ankle-bones become very popular in Chancay.

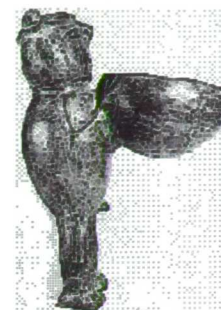


Fig.6

The applied headdress, with or without rows of gauges and/or holes has no known antecedents, but occurs on contemporary face-necks (Palacios 1988: fotos 9,10; Kroeber 1926b:Pl.90G). The turbans worn by Huachipa P21 and Lapa Lapa P26 have numerous South Coast parallels.



Fig.7

A necklace with large central shell pendant, as worn by Tablada 806 and by the Lapa Lapa specimen, is unique on the Central Coast, but becomes common on late Nasca males (Nasca 6-8).

Context

One of the Cerro Trinidad figurines and all the Tablada figurines were found in graves, 808, 803, 807 associated with infants, 804 and 802 with adults; 805 and 806 were found together in burial no.258, with an adult and a child, which may mean that each figurine was specifically associated with one of the dead. 2139 from Cerro Trinidad also came from a child burial. All the graves at Tablada also contained other objects (Ramos de Cox 1972: 17-18), burial 258 contained 18 objects, including a shell pendant, though I could not check whether it resembled the one worn by the figurine (806) in that grave (see Appendix 3). An interpretation of the figurines as toys, always possible when dealing with infant burials, is somewhat invalidated by the association with adults.

The remaining figurines come from uncontrolled, mostly disturbed contexts. We therefore don't know whether there has been a marked shift from figurines retrieved from a domestic context—which seems to have been the norm during the Early Horizon (see chapter 5)—to figurines used as grave goods. Note that no figurines were found in the numerous graves

excavated at Villa El Salvador (Stothert 1980) and El Panel (Paredes 1986), in spite of the obvious similarities with other contemporary assemblages. This is most striking when compared with Tablada, distant only 4 km. Cárdenas (1981:106) notes many similarities, such as secondary burials with fragmented bones, but also important differences, like the shape and orientation of graves. As there is little time difference between these sites, Stothert (1980:286) suggests that such differences could be explained by ethnic diversity.

Ramos de Cox (1971) has suggested that the attitudes of figurines may indicate occupational distinctions. In specimens with arms extended forwards (Tablada 802, 803) she sees agriculturalists in an attitude of "receiving", in a figurine whose lower extremities resemble a fish-tail (Tablada 807) she sees a fisherman. Although I agree with Ramos that such interpretative options must be explored, I feel that in this case the clues are too tenuous.

Geographic distribution

Central Coast sites from the Late Formative and early EIP with related figurines extend from the Chancay valley (Cerro Trinidad) in the North, via the Rimac Valley (Garagay¹, Huaca Pucllana², Huallamarca, Huachipa, Puruchuco), Lurín (Tablada, Pachacamac) to the Quebrada of Chilca in the South. The absence of this type in the Ancón area and the Chillón Valley may be due to a gap in the archaeological record or it may reflect ethnic diversity.

Chronology

The chronological position of the assemblages have been outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Stothert's (1980) comparative dating is convincing, but she does not cover the Rimac Valley sites. The figurines fill this gap and allow to add certain precisions:

The material from Site 12B-VII-100 at Chilca, which contains figurine P26, is the basis for Stothert's Lapa Lapa style phase 2, contemporary with Nasca 2 and 3 on the South Coast and contemporary with Villa El Salvador 2, therefore dating to EIP 2/3.

Considering the very close resemblance between Chilca P26 and Tablada 806, the **Tablada de Lurín** sequence could be extended to fit that dating; this is in line with Cárdenas (1981). Whilst Cárdenas sees the beginnings of Tablada II in the Middle Formative, the figurines appear to me on the whole later, because they don't show any of the earlier characteristics (see chapter 5), such as incised eyes, hair rendered by parallel incisions etc. Dates from EH 9-10 to EIP 3-4 are plausible.

¹ 81 fragments of figurines allegedly belonging to this style were retrieved at Garagay (Ravines et al 1982: 158), but were not made available for this study.

² A head fragment with pellet eye belonging to this group was recently found at Huaca Pucllana (or Juliana), Lima.

2217a, from **Huallamarca**, the large *huaca* located in San Isidro (see Appendix 2), can only be dated by analogy with the other figurines to EIP 1-3?.

Whilst one **Huachipa** figurine is said to date to the Early Formative (see chapter 5), the majority straddles the Formative/EIP divide. The Pinazo phase is contemporaneous with Villa El Salvador 1 and Baños de Boza (Late Formative to EIP 1/2), whilst Huayco is coeval with Villa El Salvador 2 (EIP 3/4). The sequence starts with 810¹, recovered from a Middle Cerro context (EH 9-10), followed by Late Cerro figurines (P21, P22, 811, 2220) some of which are solid. 1117 is transitional between the Cerro and Pinazo phases (Palacios, personal communication). The Pinazo phase is characterised by the pellet eye and applied headgear, often with punched decoration (814 to P24). These latter features are all present at Villa El Salvador (Stothert and Ravines 1977: Lám.5.4; 6.1-6.3). 1121 could be Pinazo or later, because the circle-and-dot eye is an EIP 3/4 feature at Chancay (see below). The Huayco phase starts with 1122. 815, assigned to *Huayco Medio*, could well be later: the position of the arms announces late Lima or even early Middle Horizon figurines (see chapters 7 and 8).

Puruchuco, a site lying slightly inland on the left bank of the Rimac, is well known as an Inca building, now a museum. Dr. Jimenez Borja allowed me to record some figurine- and face-neck fragments which had come to light after a small landslide at the back of the museum. The resemblance with material from Huachipa (pellet eyes, punched headgear) confirms the cross dating of the Rimac sites to Villa El Salvador. Note also the applied teeth (1114), very similar to an ocarina from Huachipa (Palacios 1988: foto 11) and a modelled vessel from Villa El Salvador (Stothert and Ravines 1977: lám.7.3). 1109 could be earlier (EH 10 to EIP 3).

Pellet eyes, the punched headgear decor, circle-and-dot eyes etc., also show some Cerro Trinidad/Site E figurines to be contemporaneous. At this site exact stratigraphic locations could be determined by cross-referencing the AMNH catalogue numbers with Willey's publication:

- 2141, 2138a and 2140 come from the White-on-Red levels, though only 2141 has actual White-on-Red decor. A very similar face-neck fragment (Willey 1943a:9e) also comes from the White-on-Red levels. A further three head fragments (P20, 2136a, 2136b²) were found in the top level (level 1) of pits II, IV and VII. These levels contain totally mixed material, from White-on-Red through Interlocking (Lima) to Black-on-White (Chancay), but the three fragments are undoubtedly of the White-on-Red period.

¹ In 810 Palacios sees a possible import from the South Coast, with some *paracoid* influences—perhaps in the incised cheek-decor?—and contemporary with Ocucaje 9. Although such a decor is quite common on late Formative South Coast face-necks and figurines it is different from 810.

² 2136b is probably the fragment from Pit IV level 1 mentioned by Willey (1943a:161).

- The atypical 2139 comes from a burial assigned to the Intermediate period. It is associated with a bee? featuring circle-and-dot eyes (Willey 1943a:fig.9j) and with pottery (ibid:Pl.6e,f) dated by Patterson (1966:99) as late as EIP epochs 3/4.

By analogy with the other groups the White-on-red phase at Cerro Trinidad must span the Late Formative to EIP 1/2, being contemporary with the Pinazo phase at Huachipa and with Villa El Salvador 1, whilst the following Intermediate phase dates to EIP 3/4, contemporary with the Huachipa Huayco phase and Villa El Salvador 2.

There is no clear data about the context of the only specimen from **Pachacamac** included in this group. Although it is listed amongst the material deposited by W.D. Strong at the AMNH (41.1.8990) it is not mentioned in Strong and Corbett 1943, which is surprising, considering the quality of this sherd. It bears the hand-written numbers 42 182, one of which could refer to the excavation blocks (see Strong and Corbett 1943: fig.5). Block 42 contained Late Horizon material, block 182 Interlocking (e.g.Lima) material. But neither block lists modelled sherds. With its deep parallel incised lines at the back of the head and deep incised eyes, this fragment would fit into the early part of the sequence, i.e. the Late Formative.

In the light of this group's chronology, Ravines' inclusion of his "Huachipa" tradition at **Garagay** into the original occupation of the site—ending at the beginning of the Early Horizon (1978-80:135-138)—must surely be revised. Like the later Middle Horizon presence at the site, the Huachipa occupation may represent a reutilisation of the site, perhaps as a cemetery?

CONCLUSION

The figurines of the Late Formative and early phases of the Early Intermediate Period seem to indicate a change in the figurine tradition of the Central Coast. New elements are the inset pellet eyes, probably a North Coast influence, applied elements and a decor of short laterally applied notches, replacing the deep incisions common on Formative figurines. The general appearance remains stylized, but is much coarser. The popularity of figurines continues unabated, though they are conspicuously absent from some contemporary assemblages, such as Baños de Boza and Villa El Salvador. Where their context is known, the figurines were mainly used as grave goods.

CHAPTER 7

FIGURINES BELONGING TO OR CONTEMPORARY WITH THE LIMA STYLE

INTRODUCTION

The Lima style, also called Proto-Lima, Interlocking, Playa Grande, Maranga (see Chronological Chart 2.2 and Patterson 1966:34-36) was first excavated by Uhle at Cerro Trinidad, Chancay and subsequently also found in the Ancón area, in the Chillón, Rimac and Lurín valleys. Following Uhle, Patterson named the style "Lima", but dropped the prefix "proto". Note that the names Playa Grande and Maranga are still used occasionally by Peruvian archaeologists to designate the Lima style.

The Lima pottery style is characterized by white and black designs on a red background, forming intricate interlocking geometric patterns. Nine stylistic phases, spanning periods 5 to 9 of the EIP (phase 9 overlapping with the beginning of the Middle Horizon), were defined by Patterson (1966) on the basis of small scale excavations and surface collections at sites around Ancón and in the Chillón valley.

The problem for this study is that none of these assemblages contain figurines or face-necks; they are also extremely rare in other published excavations. What we see in the study sample is—on the one hand— a well documented group of early EIP (1-4) figurines (see Chapter 6) and—on the other hand—some figurines from sites like Maranga or Nievería, associated with Nievería (MH1) style pottery (see Chapter 8). The latter are so reminiscent of the earlier group that—were it not for documented association—they would have been included in the early EIP group. All we are left with—to bridge the gap of several centuries—is a few figurines which come from a documented Lima context, a further handful resembling these and one figurine? fragment with Lima style pottery characteristics (Group 1). In addition there are a some Nascoïd figurines found in a cemetery associated with Lima style pottery (Group 2).

FIGURINES BELONGING TO OR CONTEMPORARY WITH THE LIMA STYLE

GROUP 1: MISCELLANEOUS FIGURINES

Table 4

Catalogue: Vol., pp.299-300

Plate 4

Sample: 9 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

The sample is too small and heterogeneous to constitute a group. Shared characteristics are: a painted rather than modelled decor, like painted eyes, sometimes hair and/or a band around the neck; a large, often high rooted nose is also common. Where present the body is narrow, cylindrical, with very short stump legs and no genitals. Within the group we see a closer resemblance between 1999, 633 and 696 on one hand and between 2137, P27 and 2135 on the other.

DISCUSSION

2137 is a painted head fragment from Pit 2, level 1, at Site E, Cerro Trinidad, Chancay (Willey 1943a:133, 161, fig.9i). This level contained mixed pottery ranging from White-on-Red through Interlocking (Lima) to Chancay Black-on-white. The difference with the earlier White-on-Red figurines from Site E is the absence of the pellet eye. Instead we have a clearly delineated painted eyeball and brow. The face is painted white, the hair black, the neck red¹. By comparison with other figurines (see chapter 5 and below), this specimen probably dates to EIP 5/6.

The following three figurines (1999, 633, 696) share a number of traits and are discussed together:

1999, a complete figurine from Uhle's excavation at Cerro Trinidad (unpublished), has a bilobed head with large lateral protuberances, obviously depicting cranial deformation², painted eyes, a huge, high-rooted nose, but no mouth. The hair painted at the back ends in parallel curls; the elongated body has no arms and is decorated with two nests of squares. Uhle assigns this specimen (cat.no.6766) to his "first period" at site E (Cerro Trinidad), Chancay (Kroeber 1926d:267). This, in Uhle's view, is not the earlier White-on-Red period at the site (Uhle's "second period"), but the later Interlocking (Lima) Period (Willey 1943a:183, Patterson

¹ Other head fragments, mentioned by Willey (1943a:176) under "Interlocking", but which also come from mixed contexts have been assigned to the early EIP on stylistic grounds (e.g.P20, 2136a, 2136b in chapter 6).]

² This is the first instance of a type of deformation which is quite common on Central Coast figurines, especially in the Late Intermediate. For a detailed discussion see Chancay 1.1, chapter 10.

1966:109). It is however interesting to note that the catalogue numbers closest to this figurine—Uhle's finds recording being very methodical, closeness in the numbers mostly also means proximity in the retrieval—are of face-necks, also listed as Interlocking (Kroeber 1926a:Pl.89C; 90E, G), but which could belong to the White-on-Red style (Willey 1943a:183). Two of these (Pl.89C/no.6764 and Pl.90G/6765¹) have the eyes with inset pupils, typical for the early EIP. Only Pl.90E/6763 has painted eyes similar to Lima style figurines.

633, said to come from Nievería², has the same bilobed head, painted eyes and very high nose, though the body is less elongated; the applied arms, folded diagonally across the chest, terminate in fin-or pincer-shaped hands with three fingers. The orange slip is typical for the Nievería pottery of MH1, but Shady suggests that the process of evolution leading from the Lima to the Nievería style may have started as early as EIP 7 (1982:19).

696, bought from *huaqueros* in Chancay, differs slightly from the two preceding figurines in having a straight crown, but which also widens at the sides; the eyes are modelled as well as painted; the hair hangs in hanks at the front, but has parallel strands, resembling 1999, down the back. Thin arms are folded upwards. The black and white decor on a red slip could be Lima, though the white lines representing a necklace are unusual.

These three specimens highlight the dating problems of the Lima-related figurines. They show strong resemblances, not only with the preceding local groups and with early EIP North Coast styles, such as Vicús and Gallinazo, but also with late Nasca figurines and succeeding (MH) local groups.

1999 shares the following traits with other groups:



Fig. 8:

- The high-rooted nose with some Huachipa and Tablada de Lurín figurines (1117, 817, 815, 802, chapter 6);
- The absence of mouth with some late Nasca figurines (fig. 8);
- The absence of chin and/or neck with Huachipa 1117, 812, 815, 1071 (see chapter 6);
- The absence of arms with late Huachipa figurine 817 (Huayco phase, EIP 3/4), late Nasca figurines (fig.8); some Central Coast MH specimens like 96 or 1055 (Late MH Gr.2, chapter 9);
- Curls hanging down the back with late Nasca figurines (fig.9);

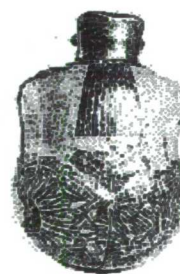


Fig.9:

¹ Not 6756 as listed in Kroeber (1926a :304).

² According to Candela (personal communication). A number of Nieveria specimens at the MNAA do indeed bear the 35/...prefix (see Shady 1982:81-82); they were allegedly excavated by Uhle.

- Nests of squares painted on the body: this can be a White-on-Red design (Willey 1943a:145, Pl.3p,q), it also appears, in exactly the same position, on a late Nasca figurine (fig.10);
- Air-holes placed at neck level are rare. They occur sporadically during the late Middle Horizon (see chapters 9, 10).

The related 633 shares :

- Diagonally descending arms with late Huachipa 815 (Huayco phase, EIP 3/4) as well as with 94, 518 (Late MH Gr.1, chapter 9).
- The fin-shaped hands are unique, but the representation of only three fingers—also on P28 and possibly on 2135 in this group—is a recurrent theme on Peruvian pottery figurines (early Chancay, Ica-Chincha and others).



Fig. 10

The related 696 shares:

- Hanks of hair on the shoulders with Nasca 6/7, the hair descending below waist level at the back is more common in Nasca 7-9.

As we see the shared traits show some continuity with the earlier local forms, as well as links with later styles. The resemblances also link them with late features of the Nasca style, also obvious in a group of late Nascoïd figurines found at Huachipa (see below, group 2). So unless we can establish an earlier context for Uhle's Cerro Trinidad figurine (1999)—no gravelots are listed for the site—I would assign these figurines to the late EIP (phases 7 or more likely 8), with 633 possibly belonging to Lima 9 (MH1A). Where it not for its resemblance with the other two specimens, 633 could have been included in Nievería-related figurines because of the ware (see chapter 8).

P28, a fragment of a chest and right arm, could be part of a figurine or of a vessel. The position of the arm is unusual, reminiscent of large classic Nasca (6-7) male figurines. The decor of white and orange rings on a black slip is the only one in this group corresponding to the classic Lima style. The ring design appears in Lima 4, orange is used from Lima 5 (EIP 7) onwards.

P27 is a figurine fragment with a large, high-rooted nose, painted eyes and mouth, as well as hair at the back and a necklace; the arms, folded upwards, have hands with three fingers. The decor is black and red on terracotta. The specimen was found in the deepest level of one of two burials of a rather unusual kind, associated with Nievería type ceramics at Potrero Tenorio in Zarate, Rimac Valley (Palacios and Guerrero 1992). However the authors believe that the figurine represents the last phase of the earlier Huachipa tradition (see chapter 6), a phase which also marks the beginning of the Nievería style (Palacios and Guerrero 1962:83). In this

light and considering features like the painted decor and the resemblance with 2137 and 2135, the figurine could date to EIP 8¹.

2135 is part of a figurine excavated by Strong and Corbett below the Temple of the Sun at Pachacamac. Although it also has a bilobed head (not visible on the published picture) the lobes do not bulge laterally like on Uhle's specimen from Chancay (1999). The large nose is not as high-rooted; traits shared with contemporary figurines are the painted eyes and the arms folded upwards. There are traces of a painted facial decor, a necklace? and clothing, but the surface is eroded. The two fragments of this figurine were retrieved from blocks 136 and 137 in Cut 2 (1943:44ff; Pl.5 f,h; Table 3). These blocks showed a layer of detritus, located immediately above a Lima 6 structure and containing sherds dated by Patterson (1966:131) to Lima 6 and 8/9. Considering the resemblance of this specimen with the late EIP figurine from Zarate (P27), it probably also belongs to EIP 8.

2158 is a remarkably naturalistic nose, with modelled nostrils, *alae* and nose-to-mouth groove, perhaps from a face-neck, rather than a figurine. Naturalistic noses occur in Huachipa (1119 and on an unpublished face-neck) and also on an *adorno* from a mixed context at Cerro Trinidad (Willey 1943a:Pl.9f), but are very rare. The specimen bears the same AMNH catalogue number as 2135 and comes from Block 155 in Cut 2 at Pachacamac (Strong and Corbett 1943:Pl.5e; Table 3), which belongs to the same late Lima stratum as above (Lima 6 and 8/9).

1716 comes from Vista Alegre, a large ceremonial center (also known as Catalina Huanca) near Vitarte, Rimac Valley². The figurine shares the following traits with earlier figurines (see chapter 6): it is solid (as Huachipa P21, P22 and 220), has hair incised across the top of the head (as Cerro Trinidad 2141, Tablada 807, Pachacamac 1753) and breasts with punctated nipples (as Huachipa 819, 809). The short body, with stump legs occurs earlier, as well as later. However it has painted eyes, a typical Lima style feature, so it may well be a transitional piece and date to ca EIP 5 or 6?

¹ Another figurine (2229), from the same site, but with an unknown context, is listed with *Nieveria* figurines (chapter 8).

² Some spectacular *Nieveria* vessels from the site are deposited at the MSP, but, as far as I know, no chronology for the site has been published.

GROUP 2: NASCAÏD AND ASSOCIATED FIGURINES FROM HUACHIPA, RIMAC VALLEY

Table 4

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp.300-301

Plate 4

Sample: 8 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Standing figurines with obvious Nasca traits. The head, often tilted backwards, has a straight or bilobed crown. The features, except for the large hooked nose, are painted; hair is nearly always shown. The body varies in shape; the folded arms, can be painted or modelled; three figurines have no arms. Legs are mostly bulky, straight, joined down the middle; two figurines have short separate legs. Three figurines show genitals (two males, one female), a further figurine can be identified as a female by her hair-style, the rest are sexless. Some clothing is shown on five specimens. Six of the figurines show strong resemblances with Nasca figurines, two further figurines (2223, 2228) show stronger local traits.

The figurines are hand-made, hollow but heavy, with air-holes at waist or shoulder level. The ware is terracotta, the decor is painted in one to four colours: pinky-white or cream, greyish black, red or orange, dark red.

DISCUSSION

The figurines were found at Huachipa in "a Lima cemetery with some Nievería pottery" (J. Palacios, personal communication). I understand that, like other finds from the site, they came to light in the course of brick-making (see chapter 6), and were not all found at the same time, though 2224 is said to have been associated with 2225, and 2222 with 2223. No other data, nor any of the associated pottery, be it Lima or Nievería, was available.

Links with other groups

The Nasca influences apparent on six of the figurines (2221, 2224, 2225, 2222, 2226, 2227) can be seen in the shape of the head and the nose, the painted features, the different hair styles and some aspects of the clothing (see chronology below). There are however some features not encountered in the Nasca style:

- Although some Nasca figurines have modelled arms, these are usually extended downwards, never applied, as on 2225.
- Several figurines here have joined legs and modelled feet. Nasca figurines, female or male, generally have separate legs, either modelled in the round or clearly separated by a deep incision. The only exception is a group of late Nasca *stelae*, without legs and rounded at the base (figs. 8,10). The short stump legs of 2227 and 2228 are a local trait.

- With the exception of some very small figurines and the *stelae*, Nasca females are usually represented in a sitting posture.

The two non-Nascoïd specimens in this group share some traits with the Nascoïd specimens as well as with local figurines:

- 2223 was found associated with the Nascoïd 2225: it has a short hair fringe like 2226, typical for late Nasca, and legs resembling the other Nascoïd figures in this group;
- 2228 has no Nascoïd features, except possibly its hooked nose. But it has the same legs as 2227, which in turn has Nascoïd features.
- The applied arms folded upwards, the short stump legs, the high-rooted nose occur in some Lima-associated or even early EIP figurines (see group 1 above and chapter 6) as well as on some Nieveria-associated specimens (see chapter 7).

But the strongest resemblance of the group as a whole is with one of the Nascoïd figurines from Cerro de Oro, Cañete (Kroeber 1937:Pl.LXX.3), which is bilobed like 2225 and 2227, has applied arms (though folded at the waist) like 2225 and 2223, and wears an overall garment with diagonally placed designs, reminiscent of—though not identical with—the one worn by 2227.

Context

There are no specific data about the retrieval of these specimens, except that they come from a “cemetery” (J. Palacios, personal communication). Interestingly we know very little about the functional context of Nasca figurines on the South Coast: unlike the Nascoïd Huachipa specimens, very few Nasca figurines are known to come from graves, though we have no other documented provenances either.

Geographic distribution

The discovery of these specimens extends the northern limit of late Nasca influence—which hitherto was only documented as far as the Cañete valley—to the Rimac valley. It is difficult to speculate to what phenomenon this influence can be attributed. It may be a first manifestation of the inter-regional contacts which characterizes the early Middle Horizon. But the figurines are certainly not imports; they are even too different from late Nasca prototypes (both in appearance and in manufacturing techniques) to have been manufactured by Nasca migrants. It is more likely that they are the work of local artisans imitating Nasca pieces.

Chronology

A detailed study of Nasca figurines¹ shows that many traits, such as hair style, hands, eyes, face- and body paint, presence or absence of arms or legs, clothing, are very phase-specific and can be used to date the Huachipa Nascoïd group.

2221 has a hair style showing hanks of hair hanging over the shoulders, separated into several strands as well as hair hanging low down in the back, alternating between thick and thin strands; both these features can already appear in Nasca 5, but the waist-length hair at the back, in strands of alternating thickness (see fig.10), is a feature typical for Nasca 6/7, not occurring in earlier or later phases.



Fig.11

Hands with square fingers (and fingernails) and placed at right angles to the body also never outlive phase 7. Note also that three fingers—as shown here—only occur in Nasca 4/5. On balance, and also taking features like the very narrow eyes (a late trait) and the absence of face-paint (typical for Nasca 6/7) into account, I would date 2221 to Nasca 7, that is EIP 7. However the fact that the figurine is standing rather than sitting, as well as the line dividing the shirt from the lower part of the body—a feature which we see on a late Nasca, *stelae*-related figurine (fig. 11)—would argue for the end of phase 7.

The remaining figurines all date to Nasca 8, or even 9. Relevant *late* features for dating are:

Hair-styles:

- the short fringe over the forehead (2226, 2227) (see fig.8);
- the very long, thin strands or plaits, from below the neck to the waist (at the back) as on 2224;
- the separate strands starting below a line of solid hair, high on the back of the head (2226).

Clothing:

- the long patterned tunic worn by Nasca males (2222, 2225): earlier males mostly wear only a loin cloth (except for some small Nasca 5/6 males with short plain shirts);
- a patterned area on the front of the figurine, as on 2226 and 2227. Note that a similar decor is also shown on a Lima figurine (see 1999 in group 1) and on later MH figurines (see 692, P46, Huaura gr.4, chapter 11).

Other traits:

- The absence of arms, very common on Nasca *stelae* (see fig.8, 10, 11)

¹ A detailed analysis of the 154 Nasca figurines recorded during my research was prepared for a Nasca volume, but only a paper concerning Nasca symbolism represented on the figurines has been published (Morgan 1988).

- A line painted along the nose (2225) which first appears on Nasca *stelae* and becomes quite common during the Middle Horizon.

Menzel (1964:34-35) dates Kroeber's material from Cerro de Oro, Cañete to MH1B. However, all the evidence shows a radical change in the figurine tradition on the South Coast at the beginning of the Middle Horizon. So I feel that the figurine, resembling the Huachipa Nascoïds, may represent a local Nasca 8/9 survival.

There can be no doubt that this group as a whole dates to the very end of the EIP or the beginning of the Middle Horizon (EIP 8-9/MH1A). This tallies with the fact that the figurines were found in a cemetery containing both Lima and Nievería pottery.

CONCLUSION

The Lima culture, in spite of large ceremonial and/or administrative centers, attesting economic growth and population expansion (Lumbreras 1974a:119ff, Shady 1982:13-14; etc.), never achieved the homogeneity and strength of its contemporaries to the North and South, the Moche and Nasca cultures. In spite of obvious contacts with these, the Lima culture marks an all-time low in pottery figurine production on the Central Coast.

The small heterogeneous sample studied in Group 1 is notable for its lack of innovation. With the exception of a unique fragment (P28) actually belonging to the Lima pottery style, all the specimens are related to earlier Huachipa and Tablada types, or to later specimens associated with Nievería pottery. In spite of a distance in time of several centuries both the earlier and the later figurine types are very similar, unsophisticated, with grotesque heads and oversize noses, roughly modelled bodies, stump legs, lack of sexual determination. In addition some Group 1 figurines share some traits with late Nasca figures.

The causes for this downturn are difficult to explain. One cause may be that the Lima pottery style itself is less well represented in the archaeological record than the Moche and Nasca styles. This may partly be due to the fact that the Rimac valley has been more densely populated since the Conquest, with resulting depredations of archaeological sites. But the adjacent valleys also lack important pottery assemblages in the Lima style. Another cause may be that the innovative imagery of the Lima style was the expression of a religious orientation in which figurines played no part? Maybe it was simply a question of fashion? We simply know too little to decide.

The figurines in Group 2 are clearly influenced by the late Nasca style, except for two specimens, found in association with them and resembling Nievería-related figurines. The figurines are certainly not imports; they are even too different from late Nasca prototypes (both

in appearance and in manufacturing techniques) to have been manufactured by Nasca immigrants. It is more likely that they are the work of local artisans imitating Nasca pieces.

It is difficult to speculate on the dynamics of the Nasca influence in the region. The Nasca connection with Lima pottery shapes and designs already starts in earlier phases (Lima 5/6) and is the object of some speculation (Kroeber 1926b: 287ff; 1954:122-123; Patterson 1966:93-94, 101-102). This group is certainly a proof of the inter-regional contacts which came into action during the later phases of the Early Intermediate Period and heralded the expansion of Wari.

CHAPTER 8

FIGURINES OF THE EARLY MIDDLE HORIZON

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of the Middle Horizon in the prehistory of Peru, the conflicting theories regarding its nature and the mechanism of its spread, are sufficiently well known not to be reexamined here¹.

The present study is based on Menzel's (1964, 1968b) stylistic and chronological framework², which subdivides the Middle Horizon into phases 1 to 4, the first two phases being further subdivided into sub-phases A and B. But the use of Menzel's framework presents some difficulties:

- A large proportion of Menzel's material comes from the Ayacucho basin and the South Coast. Even in these areas Menzel works on a limited number of actual gravelots or precisely dateable assemblages. For material from other areas, Menzel relies on stylistic comparisons with the Highland and South Coast styles. The further away we move from the epicentre at Huari of what Menzel considers to be an *imperial* expansion, the more difficult it is to synchronise the available material with Menzel's phases.
- A further problem arises from the fact that—as Anders (1986) points out—Menzel and other scholars tend to use ceremonial and elite pottery for their analysis, leaving out ordinary secular pottery, which probably better reflects contemporary regional diversity. Many figurines belong to secular styles and their variety may well result from regional diversity, rather than from differences in time.
- Menzel's 1964 analysis focuses mainly on phases 1 and 2 of the Middle Horizon, the later two phases (3 and 4) are only briefly examined for the South Coast. Unfortunately the bulk of Central Coast figurines dates to these later phases. Nor do the figurines fit happily into the four-phase framework, with many groups straddling the divide between phases.

We have seen that during the later EIP figurine production on the Central Coast was very limited. During the first two MH phases figurines are still fairly scarce, in spite of the outside influences clearly acting on the local substratum. These result in the following groups:

Group 1: Figurines belonging to or associated with the Nieveria style.

Group 2 : Amulets and similar small figurines (related to Ayacucho Basin groups).

¹ For a recent survey and up-to-date bibliography see Czwarno et al., 1988.

² A comparative nomenclature and chronology for the Middle Horizon is set out in Chart 2.2.

Group 3: Figurines possibly originating in the South/Central Sierra.

Group 4: Figurines related to the Wari-Pachacamac style.

It is interesting to note that early MH Central Coast figurines tend to come from the southern sector, that is the Rimac and Lurín valleys, rather than from Ancón, Chancay or areas further north.

GROUP 1: FIGURINES BELONGING TO OR ASSOCIATED WITH THE NIEVERIA STYLE

THE NIEVERIA STYLE

The large cemetery at Nievería, near the ruins of Cajamarquilla in the Rimac Valley, was first excavated by Uhle around 1906. The ceramic style that came to light, named Proto-Lima by Uhle, is characterised by a great variety of vessel shapes, a fine orange ware with little temper, and designs in combinations of black or grey, white, bright and dark red on a highly polished, mostly orange, slip. Its origin lies in the preceding local Lima style, with some outside influences, mainly from the South Central Highlands and the South Coast. The style occurs predominantly in the Rimac valley, but reaches Ancón in the north and Lurín in the south. Studies of the Nievería style include d'Harcourt (1922), Gayton's (1927) analysis of Uhle's material at Berkeley, Menzel (1964) and finally Shady's most detailed study (1982). Whilst Menzel (1964:31) dates the Nievería style to MH1B only, calling its later manifestations Derived Nievería Shady (1982:19ff) dates it from EIP 7/8 till MH2B, with its main flowering in MH1 and 2A.

Only one figurine in this sample clearly belongs to the Nievería style (337); the remaining specimens (except 512) were found associated with Nievería pottery.

THE NIEVERIA-RELATED FIGURINES

Table 5

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.302-303

Plate 5

Sample: 7 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

The group is made up of a unique figure (337) clearly belonging to the Nievería style—so that it would be illogical to classify it as atypical—and a somewhat disparate sample, sharing many common traits. The Nievería-style figurine depicts a sitting personage with arms folded at the waist and small folded legs, the body lacking other features. The face is triangular, with painted eyebrows and eyes, a small nose and a drooping mouth. The personage wears a

large coiffe, perhaps a feather headdress. The vessel is double-faced, hand-made, hollow, but lacks air-holes. The ware is typical Nievería, with a greyish-black and reddish-brown decor on a highly polished orange slip.

The remaining figurines are smallish, crude, with featureless bodies. The arms are folded upwards or absent, the legs are short stumps. Only one specimen has genitals (female). The head is more varied in size and shape, with a crown that can be rounded, straight or bilobed; features are sketchy, with a large, high-rooted nose and incised eyes; the mouth is missing on four specimens.

The described figurines are hand-made, hollow, with air-holes at the sides, more or less at waist level. The surface is rough, unslipped, mostly terracotta in colour.

DISCUSSION

Special features

337, is the only Nievería style figurine, both as ware and iconographically. It depicts a specific human or divine personage, which also appears on many Nievería vessels (cups, double-spouted vessels), with its triangular face, modelled and/or painted eyebrows, eyes, nose and mouth, folded arms and vestigial (folded) legs (d'Harcourt 1922: Pl.VI,5; Shady 1982:Fig.10f). Sometimes only the face is depicted (d'Harcourt 1922:Pl.VI,4; Shady 1982:fig.11d). The same personage also features on face-necks, not as the main figure, but as a secondary one, located in the genital area (see fig. 12; Milla Batres 1975:F/213; Kroeber 1954: frontispiece and fig.28).



Fig. 12

Lyon (1978:108-109) suggests that the face located in the genital area of two of the face-necks could be a representation of the *vagina dentata*, a popular theme depicting the female vagina with teeth or as a mouth. This attribute confers supernatural status to the personage depicted. Another interpretation sees the face as that of a shaman, covered by an animal skin (Hentze 1960). These interpretations tally with two of the face-necks, one of which represents a fanged being (Milla Batres 1975:f/213) holding trophy heads in his hands, the other a non-mythical feline (fig.12), but less with the third non-mythical human (Kroeber 1954: frontispiece).

In the case of the figurine, an added dimension is its double-faced (or *Janus*) aspect, which also occurs on at least one of the double-spouted vessels (Shady 1982:fig.10g). The double-face figurine is not uncommon during the late Middle Horizon of the Central Coast, (see

1986/Supe, SAC 289/Supe-Huaura hybrids, both in chapter 10; 140/Huaura 2.1, 2201/Unaffiliated Gr.1, chapter 11), showing females on both faces. Arriaga (1968/1621:277) mentions a male-female Janus stone figure venerated near Hilavi.

The principle of dualism is a fundamental organizational concept in pre-Columbian Peru. It can express itself as a male-female dualism, but also in the "alter-ego" or brother concept (Rostworowski 1983). Since both aspects of the Nievería figurine lack sexual characteristics, we might be dealing with this second concept. Twins also play an important role in Peruvian cosmology and mythology but they are more likely to be shown as a couple than back to back (see chapter 11).

Links with other groups

The crudely made figurines are obviously rooted in the local tradition, as we see it expressed in both early and later EIP figurines (see chapters 6 and 7). Indeed a figurine such as 633, listed under the Lima style, may well represent a different type of Nievería figurine; 2223 and 2228, found in association with the late EIP Nascoïd figurines, are also very similar. Although the figurines are always associated with Nievería pottery, they are not in the least influenced by that style. Nor have any foreign influences as yet penetrated this particular artifact type.

Context

At least five specimens (2015, P29, P30, 2229, 1596) are known to have been grave goods (see below and Appendix 3).

Geographic distribution

The Nievería style figurine is said to come from Chancay (unverifiable provenance): according to Shady (1982:18) no Nievería pottery is found further north than Ancón. The remaining figurines come from sites in the Rimac valley. The unverifiable Trujillo provenance for 512 is unlikely, though a Nievería vessel was recently found in the Jequetepeque valley¹.

Chronology

337, the only Nievería style figure, is easily dated by its resemblance with a nearly identical double-spouted vessel, which according to Shady (1982:32, fig.10f) belongs to MH1B-MH2A.

As already mentioned the remaining figurines strongly resemble local figurines of the EIP. They have no Nievería style features allowing to date them. However they are all associated with Nievería pottery:

¹ See L.J.Castillo and C.B.Donnan (1994): La ocupación Moche de San José de Moro, Jequetepeque. In: S. Uceda and E. Mujica (Eds): *Moche. Propuestas y Perspectivas*, pp.93-146, Lima.

2015: The figurine from Uhle's Grave 19 at Nievería is associated with a jar (Gayton 1927: Pl.96d), with a small lug at the base of the neck. The slip is reddish brown. The decor consists of black pendant triangles with white spots, outlined in white. Menzel (1964:32-33, 54) does not attempt to date this vessel, but vessels from Nievería with a lug at the base of the neck are dated MH1B-2A (Menzel 1964: note 162, referring to Gayton 1927: Pl.92C; Shady 1982:37, fig.13a,c).

2229: This specimen, from an unspecified stratum at Potrero Tenorio, Zarate, dates to the early MH because of its resemblance with 2015 and because the site yielded almost exclusively Nievería pottery (see Palacios and Guerrero 1992 and chapter 7).

P29, P30: From burials CVII and CLXI at Huaca III, Maranga, found in a cemetery dating to the third and penultimate construction (or rather remodelled) phase of Huaca III (Jijón y Caamaño 1949:473). The pottery from this stratum, also includes Interlocking, e.g. Lima 2-9 (ibid.: 47, 174ff)¹. Unfortunately the figurines are not listed in the respective burial inventories (ibid. pp.30-32, 36), but this may be an omission. If so, P29 (fig.217) is associated with an orange-ware flask, with the design of an animal with profile head and ray appendages, referred to as *Cajamarquilla* by Jijón. The flask is obviously related to the Nievería style, but there is no exact parallel for this combination of a flattened lenticular body, with a long, tapering spout and a strap handle amongst typical Nievería specimens. Analogies for the shape or the design range from Chakipampa and Nasca 9 to Atarco, so the piece should date to MH1B or MH 2. An early Middle Horizon date for these figurines is acceptable: I was recently shown a similar figurine from Maranga, which was also found with Nievería pottery.

1596 excavated by Kroeber at Huaca 15 (or III) at Aramburu/Maranga² is peculiar: facial traits are sketchy and there is an unidentifiable appendage on the chest. This may be the reason why Kroeber did not publish it (1956). Kroeber's catalogue entry (n.d.) specifies that it is part of a ceramic lot "...from various depths, mostly 3 and more meters (viz., Proto-Lima layer)". Under Proto-Lima Kroeber, following Uhle, understands what we now call the Nievería style. Besides Nievería type orange ware fragments, this assemblage also contains thick terracotta coloured sherds with designs in red, black, white, or white outlined in black on a red background, belonging to Kroeber's "heavy ware" (1956:61ff), which could actually belong to the late Lima style. The catalogue number of the figurine (169.373) is close to a burial

¹ In order to assign Jijón's ceramic categories to Lima phases, I checked his comparisons with material from Kroeber (1926b), Willey (1943a), Strong and Corbett (1943) against Patterson's (1966) phase attributions.

² For details of the site see Appendix 2.

containing Lima 7 (EIP 7) pottery (Kroeber 1955:fig.23, dated by Patterson 1966:127). So the figure might be late Lima (7-8?) or Nievería-related.

512, said to come from Trujillo, is included on stylistic grounds, and must date to MH1-2.

GROUP 2: AMULETS AND SIMILAR FIGURINES (RELATED TO AYACUCHO BASIN GROUPS)

Table 6

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp.303-304

Plate 5

Sample: 11 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Small figurines made of a distinctive ware with no apparent temper. Most specimens have holes through their heads for suspension, probably as amulets. Eyes and mouth are rendered by straight, deep incisions, the nose is prominent. The body is short, tapering to the feet; arms are placed on the abdomen. Two figurines are longer, but very narrow, and play *quenás*. Five figurines have an applied headdress.

The associated 2131 is quite similar to other figurines of this group, but it comes from the Callejón de Huaylas.

DISCUSSION

Special features / Links with other groups

Distinctive features which occur on all or some of the specimens (shape, incised features, modelling of the shoulders, feet tapering upwards at the back, painted tear lines or eyelashes, applied hats, playing of musical instruments), have their equivalent in early MH figurines of the Ayacucho basin (late Huarpa, Chakipampa, Cruz Pata, Ocros) and probably spread from there (see figs 13, 14).



Fig.13

The main difference with similar Highland figurines lies in the use of a ware or wares, characterised by an apparent absence of temper. This could be the *Caja* ware of the Huancavelica area¹ or the *Fine Orange Ware*, variants of which were encountered at Wilkawain,



Fig.14

¹ The *Caja* ceramic group (Menzel 1968b:64; Lumbreras 1974a, 1974b; Benavides 1984; Anders 1986:333) is characterised by its very fine, strongly compacted paste, containing no visible temper. The colour is a pinky orange; the burnished surface is generally unslipped, though in the Ayapata deposit, Menzel speaks of a smooth, glossy finish (1968b:64). The decor can consist of brown or black

Callejón de Huaylas (Bennett 1944) and at Cerro Amaru, Marcahuamachuco (Topic and Topic 1984; Thatcher 1972-1974). The latter can contain some temper and is harder, probably fired at higher temperatures than the majority of the figurines in this group. A related Central Coast group (Early MH Group 3) is also made of this soft, apparently temper-less ware.

Many features have an unusually wide distribution. Note, for instance that the distinctive hats, in the shape of an upturned stemmed cup, worn by 1412 in this group, also occur on 1266 (see fig. 14), on a Nievería modelled vessel (Lapiner 1976:fig.532) and on a contemporary South Coast vessel (Sawyer 1975: fig.537).



Fig.15

A further interesting link is the retrieval from Nievería grave 13 (Gayton 1927: 315) of a small double *quena* (fig.15). A number of *quenás*, some representing humans (fig.16) or animals, share stylistic features such as the incised eyes both with this group and with the



Fig. 16

related Ayacucho groups. They also appear to be made of Caja ware. Their distribution area is very wide, from Lambayeque on the North Coast, through Huacho on the Central Coast to the Ayacucho Basin.

Context

There are no data regarding the context of these figurines. P31 and P32 probably come from graves at Nievería. The associated 2131 comes from the fill of a dwelling which appears to have had some admixture of burial material (Bennett 1944:48-50). The small figurines with suspension holes could have been worn as amulets. The occurrence of pairs probably found together (1412/1411, P31/P32, 1909a/b) is noteworthy, because male/female couples become popular in the Huaura and Huaura-derived Chancay styles (chapters 11, 13).

Geographic distribution

P31 and P32 were excavated at Nievería; 1655, 1656, 1657 have a fairly reliable provenance from the Huaura Valley. In addition the associated figurine 2131 was recovered by Bennett at Ichik-Wilcawain in the Callejón de Huaylas (Bennet 1944:17, 48-50). The stylistic influences come from the Ayacucho basin, the characteristic ware may originate around Huancavelica, but also occurs in another Central Coast group (Early MH Group 3). We have

lines (Benavides 1984:58) or of red, black and white designs (Ravines 1968: note 3). This group is common in the Caja district and areas around Huancavelica to the northwest, Ayacucho/Huanta to the southeast and the Urubamba-Cachi areas (Ravines 1968; Anders 1986:333). Although Lumbreras associates it with phase A of Huarpa, dating practically to the end of the Formative (Lumbreras 1974a:92-93), Benavides (1984:57-58) found it in levels also containing his early Wari (corresponding roughly with Menzel's Chakipampa and Conchopata) and even his classic Wari (Menzel's Viflaque). Anders (1986:333) also found it associated with MH2 ceramics. A number of iconographically differing figurines with a wide distribution appear to be made of Caja type ware.

therefore a group which might originate in the South/Central Highlands, but has a wider distribution, with 50% of the specimens recovered on the Central Coast.

Chronology

P31 and P32, from Nievería, can be considered contemporary with the Nievería style (MH1/2).

The related Ayacucho figurines, which belong to the Huarpa-related Chakipampa and Ocros styles also date to MH1. The *Caja* ware as a whole dates mainly to MH1 and 2.

The associated figurine from Wilkawain (2131) comes from a large but very mixed assemblage, of which only two examples are illustrated by Bennett (1944:49, figs.6f, 10f). Only the latter fragment of a face, with an incised chequer-board design, can be related to Robles Moqo/Pacheco and dated to MH1B (Menzel 1964:27 and note 126).

GROUP 3: FIGURINES POSSIBLY ORIGINATING IN THE SOUTH/CENTRAL SIERRA

Table 7

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.304-306

Plate 6

Sample: 20 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

A homogenous group of medium sized, standing figurines. Although a division into sub-groups is not possible there is a difference between stocky specimens with a round head, and narrower ones with elongated heads. They share straight-sided bodies, some with emphasized shoulders, arms folded over the waist, joined legs with modelled knees and small feet, sloping upwards at the back. The genitals are rarely indicated (five females, one male). Some of the better made specimens have a very characteristic face, with a realistically modelled, pointed nose and curved lips; many specimens have tearmarks, sometimes spilling down over the shoulders. Most specimens wear a head-dress, which can be applied, with four or two corners; the rest have painted caps, one figurine has painted hair. Eleven specimens wear a painted belt, often adorned with wavy lines and dots, and have painted circles with a cross-and-dot motif on the breasts, the arms and/or the legs.

Of the associated figurines P33 is very similar to the main group, but was found in the Northern Sierra. SAC 469 shares traits with the main group, but the overall shape and some of the decor (collar, horizontal painted lines) are different. 2176 is hand-made and solid, but of the same fine orange ware, with fugitive black, white and red paint, and shares the circles painted

at breast level. Some features (head shape, incised eyes) link it with early MH figurines from the Ayacucho basin, whilst others, like the mouth made by two lateral punctation, has no known parallels. This figurine may well represent a missing link between South-Central Highland types and this group.

DISCUSSION

Special features

This group marks the first appearance of mold-made figurines on the Central Coast. Although mold-made figurines are standard in Moche, the technique only reaches the South Coast during MH1, with Robles Moqo face-necks (Menzel 1964:28). On the Central Coast, after this first appearance, mold-made figurines only become the norm with the Supe-type figurines during the late MH (see chapter 10).

After the incised or painted eyes of earlier Central Coast groups modelled eyes, elliptical in shape, showing lids and raised eyeballs—often painted white, with black pupils—are a notable innovation, which becomes common in later periods.

A noteworthy feature, though not shared by all the figurines, is the well modelled face with its characteristic pointed nose and curly lips, best exemplified by 292 and 828. It appears to originate in Tiahuanaco (Eisleb and Strelow 1980:260; Posnansky 1957: vol.III, pl.LXVI B-H), and is somewhat different from the beautiful naturalistic faces of both Conchopata (Cook 1984-1985:figs.1-4) and Robles Moqo (Milla Batres 1975:F/221). It becomes more common in Viñaque (Bennett 1953: Pl.7 f, I, j, m; Pl.8 a-e) and Atarco (Lavalle 1984:156 left). 511 has a decidedly bulbous nose which is totally atypical.

Tearmarks spilling down to the shoulders, as featured on five figurines (511, 1670, SAC 351, SAC 309, 779) in this group, do not occur on any other figurines or face-necks. 1669 and SAC 467 have simple parallel tearlines on the cheeks only, a much more common representation during the Middle Horizon.

Four-cornered hats are well documented for the whole of Peru during the Middle Horizon. One such hat was excavated at Nievería (Gayton 1927:fig.8). Many textile specimens, in a variety of weaving techniques, are found in museum collections; they are also frequently represented on modelled jars (Anton 1972:fig.205; Benson and Conklin 1981:93; Dockstader 1967: fig.141, bottom; Lapiner 1976: fig.576; Sawyer 1975: fig.176; Schmidt 1929:267, bottom left; etc.). One such jar (Topic and Topic 1984:fig.9a) was found



Fig. 17: North Coast
MH figurine

with P33. The hat rarely occurs on figurines in other Central Coast groups (see 426 in Wari-Pachacamac, 796 in Supe) and is also rare in other areas (see fig.17).

In her introductory study to an exhibition of four-cornered hats, Frame (1990) explains that they may originally derive from animal ears, hence the "unusual pile surface"¹, representing pelage or plumage. The geometric grid of the four cornered hat, apparent in both its structure and in the organisation of the decor, probably expresses an "encoding of systematic information". Four-cornered hats are worn by high-status males. They date mainly to MH2, but were probably still during the latter part of the MH.

Four figurines (549, 800, 511, SAC 352)—possibly more—wear four-cornered hats. There are a number of features worth noticing:

- The hats here are not strictly symmetrical, being slightly flattened at the back (no example for this is illustrated in the literature). Moreover the two back corner *picos* are shorter than those in front (as in Lapiner 1976:fig.573, bottom left).
- The *picos* are higher and placed closer together than on any of the illustrated examples.
- On 511 the front *picos* are painted with a pear-shaped design in white, outlined in black, divided by a black wavy line, with black filler dots. A similar, barely visible design appears on 549. These motifs are quite unlike the strictly geometric designs seen on published hats.
- 511 has a rope or tassel, attached to the crown and hanging down one side to the shoulder, another unusual trait.
- Unlike the face-necks listed above, the four-peaked hats here appear to be perched very high on somewhat elongated heads. On 549 a textile head-band, decorated with painted circles, is worn below the hat.

Frame does not mention the existence of two-peaked hats—as opposed to four-cornered hats, which are square but only have two peaks—(see Frame 1990:Pl.4; Lapiner 1976:fig.573 bottom right). Two figurines (292, P33) wear such hats. Considering that the hats were made separately and then applied on the figurine it is unlikely that the two-peaked version is a simplified representation of the four-cornered hat. The two-peaked hat on 292 is also decorated with white circles. P33 has plait-like appendages framing the face, reminiscent of a Pacheco type head-vase (Lavalley 1984:131).

Regarding the sex (male) and high status connotation of the hats, pointed out by Frame and Menzel (1977: 31): both SAC 352 and 292 (with a two-peak hats) are females, with an incised vulva, the latter with the same breasts as some of the figurines with four-cornered hats. As for the status, it is not as clear as on some of the Robles Moqo/Pacheco face-necks wearing four-

¹ Tiahuanaco hats are knotted whilst Wari hats are pile- or plush hats, i.e. "with supplementary pile yarns caught into the knotted foundation".

cornered hats, who also feature elaborate face-paint and rich garments. However this group also stands out amongst contemporary figurines for its body paint and decorated loin-cloth which may signify higher status.

Other hats include a flat cap with an applied brim over the forehead (1669, SAC 307) and elongated calottes, reminiscent of Tiahuanaco style hats (Frame 1990:Plate 2, Fig.4). Some of them are decorated with stripes or circles.

Both the four-cornered hats perched high on the head and the elongated calottes may indicate the elongated cranial deformation. This deformation called *deformación por llautu* or *por compresión circular* (Weiss 1962:26, Reichlen 1982) is typical for the Highlands and documented at Huari itself (Brageyrac and Gonzales Carré 1982:8). The nine specimens with this deformation also have a longer, narrower body.

Links with other groups

This group is related to Early MH Group 2 (see above) and to some South Central Highland groups. Apart from overall shape, proportions, posture :

With Early MH Group 2 it shares the fine, temper-less ware and the applied hats.

With early Ayacucho Basin figurines (related to the late Huarpa, Chakipampa or Ocros styles) it shares notably: the emphasized shoulders (such shoulders reappear as a Central Coast characteristic in the Late Horizon) and knees, the small feet sloping upwards at the back and the straight parallel tear-lines (see above fig.13). This figure also shares the painted collar with SAC 469, incised slit-like eyes with 2179, parallel lines painted across the legs with both.

There are similarities with several specimens excavated by F. Meddens in the Chicha-Soras region of the South Central Highlands. Compare the high calottes of 1083 and 421 with fig.18 (Meddens LU5/903/Sf37b); the lower body of the male fragment (829) with fig.19 (Meddens LU5/710/SE122) and the face and posture of 292 and others with Meddens 1985:Fig.85.



Fig. 18

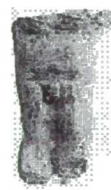


Fig. 19

Similarities with other groups include :

- A black line along the nose of 1669, occurring on many late Nasca and MH figurines such as Huaura 1 (see chapter 11).
- Rectangular ears (292) are also a late Nasca or early MH feature.
- Parallel lines, painted across the arms and especially the legs, as on the associated SAC 469 and 2176 first make their appearance on highland specimens (see fig.13) . They become common in later



Fig. 20

Central Coast groups such as Huaura and early Chancay. The circles painted on the legs of this group may be a variant of the same decor.

- Variants of the wavy-line-and-dot motif on the belt of some figurines also occurs on North Coast MH figurines (see fig.20: SWMLA 1416-G-3).

Context

P33 is part of a substantial gravelot at Cerro Amaru (Topic and Topic 1984) in what was obviously an elite burial in a "mausoleum" (Unit A, Cist 1), containing one (possibly two) adults and one juvenile.

No other associations are known.

Geographic Distribution

Provenances	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Rimac Valley	Lurín Valley	Others
Certain					1 Cerro Amaru
Fairly reliable	1		2	1	1 Paramonga, Pativilca
Unverifiable		2		1	1 North Coast

The exact provenance of this group is problematic. The only documented figurine (P33) was excavated at Cerro Amaru near Marcahuamachuco in the North Highlands, but Topic and Topic (1984:52) believe that it may be a direct import from Huari. Another figurine (1669) may have been acquired on the North Coast.

At least four figurines were probably found on the Central Coast and another four also have a Central Coast provenance (824 bears the inscription "Andoy", said to be an hacienda near Lima). 828, 829 bear no inscription, but they were stored at the MPCS with material from the Horkheimer excavations in the Chancay Valley, so they may well come from the same excavation. I have also seen a similar figurine, said to come from the Lurín valley. This group is not found in the Ancón/Chillón area.

Another pointer for a diffusion from or near the Central Coast is the resemblance with MH Group 2, where the few known provenances are also from the Central Coast. There the link with a figurine found in the Callejón de Huaylas, also attests a wider distribution of the group.

Finally an indication—by default, but usually very symptomatic—is that no similar figurines are found in regional Peruvian museums outside the Central Coast.

On the other hand there is no evidence—apart from the figurines—that the fine, near temper-less ware, characteristic for MH groups 2 and 3 figurines, was produced on the Central Coast: it may come from the Caja area (see above MH group 2). The stylistic similarities with South Central Highland figurines point in the same general direction. The Cerro Amaru assemblage contains a number of vessels which resemble pieces from the Central or South Highlands (Topic and Topic 1984:52). Contemporary figurines found in another Cerro Amaru

location (Thatcher 1977) are totally different in style: they may have been manufactured locally, whilst P33 was imported.

So it is possible that the group originates in an area between the Central Coast and the Ayacucho Basin and was exported at a time of great cultural mobility during MH1 and 2.

Chronology

Considering the variants within the group—e.g. between specimens with four-cornered hats and those with elongated caps, which can be due to spatial *or* temporal differences—the time span covered by this group may be fairly long.

The Chicha-Soras material (F.Meddens, personal communication) shows some of the same variants and here the differences *are* temporal: a figurine with a three-peak bonnet (Meddens 1985: fig.85) dating to MH2, the head fragment with elongated cap (fig.14) to MH 3/4.

The gravelot from Unit A, Cerro Amaru associated with P33 contains a number of ceramic vessels which appear to be local imitations of Wari styles. But the suggested MH1B date for the whole assemblage, presents some problems by Menzel's chronology. A Chakipampa B bowl (MH1B) is associated with a Viñaque-type tumbler and a double chamber whistling jar (Topic and Topic 1984:figs 9a, 10b,c), dating to MH2 according to Menzel. The C14 dates for Unit A range from 1620±105BP-1360±65BP (AD 330- 590), altogether early for the Middle Horizon, but Topic and Topic believe the structure to predate the cist graves (1984:56, 74-74). A MH2 date appears reasonable.

To sum up: the similarities with both early MH Group 2 and early MH Ayacucho figurines point to MH1B. Considering the variants within the group, the group probably dates to MH1B-2, with some figurines possibly dating to MH3.

GROUP 4: FIGURINES BELONGING OR RELATED TO THE WARI-PACHACAMAC STYLE

THE WARI-PACHACAMAC POTTERY STYLE

The Wari-Pachacamac style was defined by Menzel (1964) on the basis of Uhle's excavations at Pachacamac (Uhle 1903) and of specimens illustrated in Schmidt (1929). The style is also found in the Rimac valley and at Ancón, and its influence is evident as far south as the Ica valley (known as "Ica-Pachacamac"); to the north there are isolated finds in the Supe,

Casma and Chicama valleys (Menzel 1964:55; 1968b:85). However we shall see that the figurines come mainly from Pachacamac itself.

Besides some local antecedents, particularly the Nieveria style, Menzel identifies Wari stylistic elements in the Wari-Pachacamac style. Basically rooted in the Conchopata and Robles Moqo traditions, these elements show strong though independent links with both the Viñaque style of the Ayacucho basin and the Atarco style of the South Coast. Like these styles, Wari-Pachacamac spans Middle Horizon 2, with two distinct sub-phases (Menzel 1964:55ff).

No figurines are mentioned by Menzel and indeed—considering the wealth of looted or excavated material from Pachacamac—they are relatively rare. But modelled human forms are extremely common and appear on :

- face-necks (Schmidt 1927:267-2, 280-1,2, 283-1, Taf.III-1), including face-necks with modelled, seated bodies (Schmidt 1929:Taf.III-2; d'Harcourt 1948:fig.128);
- single-spout bottles, with a modelled face below the spout (Schmidt 1929:280-3, 281-3,4,);
- collared jars, head cups or double-spouted bottles with bodies modelled like human heads (Schmidt 1929:275-1, 276-3, 277-1,2, 278-1,4);
- double vessels with spouted bottle and modelled figure (Schmidt 1929:265-2, 271-1,2; Wassermann-San Blas 1938:279, fig.481) and spout-and-bridge-to-modelled-figure (Schmidt 1929:266-4).

In this sample only four figurines fully represent the mixture of traditional and imported traits which make up the Wari-Pachacamac style, with a further six sharing enough characteristics to make up a Wari-Pachacamac group. Most of these have a certain or probable Pachacamac provenance.

THE WARI-PACHACAMAC FIGURINES

Table 8

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.306-307

Plate 7

Sample: 10 figurines.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Small standing figurines with arms folded at the waist and short legs. The main characteristics are the undeformed rounded head, white eyeballs, with or without black pupils, and the mostly cylindrical, elongated body. Genitals are only indicated on two specimens (female).

Only 431, 1533, 1518 and the associated 1428 really show clear Wari-style traits, but the remaining specimens share the main characteristics and mostly come from Pachacamac.

DISCUSSION

Special features

The painted arms, outlined in black, and showing the shoulder joints and marked break at the elbows are a distinctive Wari-Pachacamac trait (Schmidt 1929:267-1 and 271-2)¹.

431 and 1533 are fixed to a *litter* (see below, Context).

Links with other groups

This group combines stylistic traits of local origin, with others imported from the South Coast Atarco style. There is also a clear resemblance with the relatively rare Viñaque figurines.

Local traits:

- The elongated tubular shape with very short stump legs (cf. Lima figs. 1999, 696, chapter 7)
- The position of the air-holes behind the upper arms or at the waist (cf. Late Formative/early EIP and Lima figurines, chapters 6, 7).

Atarco derived traits:

- Undeformed head, white eye-balls with or without central black pupils; note however that the features on Wari-Pachacamac figurines (unlike the face-necks!) do not have the same life-like quality as some choice Atarco specimens (see Lavalley 1984:133). These traits are also typical for Viñaque human representations (Bennett 1953: Pl.7M; Benavides 1984: Lám.XXII,e).
- The diagonal cross on the chin, the elongated ear and prominent breasts (431) also appear on a figurine without known provenance, but probably from the South Coast (fig. 21) The elongated, near rectangular ear is also well documented on Nasca 9 figures.
- Wavy double tear-lines (431), also occur on an Atarco-related figurine (AMNH 41.2.7563)
- Short double tear-marks, painted arms and a long tunic (associated 1428) occur on an early Huari style figurine perhaps coming from the Ica valley (Lapiner 1976:fig.530).
- Painted arms and hands, broad at the wrist, with longer middle-finger and occasionally a pointed thumb-nail, are typical features inherited by the Atarco style from Nasca. On the Wari-Pachacamac specimens (431, 1428) the white nails lack black dots or edges, typical for Atarco.
- Hair hanging down in the back (431, 780, 1518) may be borrowed from Atarco, though it also occurs on Lima figurines, where I suggested that it may be derived from late Nasca.



Fig.21

¹ The specimen shown in Schmidt (1929:267-1) could be a figurine, though Schmidt calls it *Tongefäss*, i.e. a vessel. Note the legs, with pronounced knees and incised toes, like those of the associated 426.

Other traits:

- 451 and 436 show decorative motifs, executed in broad grooves, characteristic for the Teatino style (see chapter 9), but the shape of the body is typical of Wari-Pachacamac and they are said to come from Pachacamac. Interestingly I have also noted that the paste contains mica, like several Teatino figurines. Uhle's material from Gravefield I at Pachacamac contains at least one Teatino vessel (UPMP 26941). The question is: were these specimens brought here or were they produced locally? The latter would better explain the shape of the figurines, but not their paste.

Context

As these figurines are mostly said to come from Pachacamac, with its extensive burial grounds, it is likely that they all came from burials. We have precise data only for 1533, the wrapped figurine on a litter, which was buried in a large mummy bale (Fleming, Miller, Brahin 1983). The remains, in a flexed position, were those of a child, aged about twelve, probably female, who had died of a brain disease. Other objects in the bundle were ceramic vessels, baskets, weaving implements, as well as a wooden figurine also on a litter.

Geographic distribution

There are two certain and six fairly certain provenances, all from Pachacamac.

1533 comes from a well documented gravelot from the "Oldest part of Gravefield I" at Pachacamac (see Appendix 2). 1518 bears Uhle's entry "probably from Gravefield I".

The associated 1428, with its distinctive dress was excavated in Pachacamac by *huaqueros* employed by Bandelier¹. It is very likely that 431, 451, 436 collected by Baessler also came from that site.

Chronological position

The following elements allow us to date the group mainly to MH2, possibly MH3:

- The resemblance with Atarco and Viñaque figurines, dating mainly to MH2.
- The retrieval of 1533 from the "oldest part of Gravefield I"². The finds in that area date to MH2B and MH3. The flexed position of the corpse and the mummy bale with a false head (Fleming, Miller, Brahin 1983:150) tally with these dates (by analogy with Ancón, Menzel 1977:44).
- Tentatively I suggest that the motif on the belt of 1428 is a variant of the Atarco (Chakipampa derived) *Fleur-de-Lys* typical for MH2 (Menzel 1964:53 and fig.4a).
- The white platelets with two black dots making up the necklace of 780 are another common design of the earlier part of the MH, especially common in Viñaque (see Lavalle 1984:128).

¹ In his Field notes, Bandelier mentions, amongst the pottery excavated at Pachacamac "human figures, excellent in matters of dress" (MS 1892:202). These may well include this figurine and huacos B 504, B 506 at AMNH.

² According to Fleming, Miller, Brahin (1983:150, caption) the mummy bundle is listed as "in front of the Temple of Pachacamac". However the catalogue entry for the figurine is definitely as stated; and Stearns (1967: Table I/4) gives the same provenance for the mummy.

- The Teatino-style decor (436) shows that the group survived into MH3.
- The atypical 426 bears some resemblance with 542, a figurine with two sets of arms (a feature normally dating to LIP 2/3) tentatively associated with Huaaura 2.2.1 (chapter 11). So 426 may well date to the late MH.

But on the whole I believe this group to date to MH2. Although the influence of the Atarco style makes itself felt on the iconography of Wari-Pachacamac figurines, it is much less strong than on the remaining pottery. This could mean that the figurines were part of a traditional funerary context, which remained outside the new mythology represented by the religious icons of the Wari world.

CONCLUSION

When we consider the four groups of early Middle Horizon figurines, we must distinguish between those groups which are definitely of Central Coast origin (Groups 1 and 4) and those which—though probably found on the Central Coast—may have been imported from the Highlands (Groups 2 and 3).

The autochthonous groups (1 and 4) show that the impact of the Wari style was rather weak on figurine iconography. Amongst the figurines associated with the Nievería pottery style only the "Janus" figure (337), unique in every way, represents in innovation. It shows a mythical personage which also appears on a variety of vessels. The remaining figurines are clearly derived from an earlier local tradition and show no similarity with any Nievería-style human representations on face-necks or effigy jars¹. The same can be said of Wari-Pachacamac related figurines, where only three specimens (431, 1533, 1428) show some Atarco or Viñaque influence, the remaining figurines representing a variant of the earlier local tradition.

The lack of Wari influence on figurines contrasts with the expansion of Wari-inspired pottery overall, particularly obvious in the Wari-Pachacamac style, though not negligible in the Nievería style either. The reason may be that the set of beliefs and rituals in which figurines played a part, remained outside the new religious impulses coming from Wari. Another reason could be that—as we have seen—figurines continued to play a negligible role in the area during the early Middle Horizon, just as they had during the later part of the Early Intermediate Period.

But things were about to change because of the influx of outside groups—reaching the Central Coast perhaps through the Lurín valley trade route—which acted as catalysts for the tremendous increase in figurine production which starts during the later part of the Middle Horizon.

¹ See Figures 51-53, Chapter 13 (Chancay Group 2, Discussion).

CHAPTER 9

THE FIGURINES OF THE LATE MIDDLE HORIZON - GROUPS 1 TO 3 (TRANSITIONAL)

INTRODUCTION

As we have seen, Menzel's chronology for the Middle Horizon concentrates on phases 1 and 2. For the next two periods, it is only by establishing stylistic elements as reference points at the beginning and end of the time span—similarities with MH2 on the one hand and with Late Intermediate Period features on the other—that it is possible to visualize any chronological depth. Even so there is no perceivable demarcation line between MH4 and LIP 1-2. However, it seemed pointless for the purposes of this study, to alter the accepted chronology.

What is clear is that the late Middle Horizon (MH3/4) brings a gradual change in the cultural cohesion of the Central Coast, with the disappearance of figurines anchored in the earlier local traditions and new outside influences making themselves felt. Eventually this will lead to separate developments in the northern and southern sectors of the area.

Before the break between the two areas becomes definite, we see the emergence of some heterogeneous groupings. These incorporate local traits surviving from the Early Intermediate Period, early Middle Horizon traits as expressed in Wari-Pachacamac and derived figurines (Late Middle Horizon Group 1) or less clear admixtures from Teatino, Supe, or early Huaura and related figurines, probably more prevalent in the Ancón area (Late Middle Horizon Group 2). Although many of these figurines probably date to MH3, they are still rooted in earlier traditions, which is why they can be considered as transitional.

The Teatino style also belong to this—stylistically transitional—period and still shows the earlier, wider distribution pattern. Because of this and because Teatino figurines share many traits with the other transitional groups they are included in this chapter (Late Middle Horizon Group 3).

In addition to figurines still anchored in earlier traditions, the late Middle Horizon sees a literal explosion of new figurines. However these new groups now embark on independent developments

and contacts between the area north of the Chillón valley and the southern sector (Rimac and Lurín valleys)—at least as far as the figurines are concerned—practically cease and do not resume until the last phases of the Late Intermediate Period.

In the northern sector (from Supe to Chillón) the late Middle Horizon sees the development of two main new figurine groups, Supe (Late Middle Horizon Group 4) and Huaura. But since the latter also spans the early phases of the Late Intermediate it will be studied separately (see Chapter 11). In addition we see some smaller groups. Some of these are hybrids with strong Supe elements (Late Middle Horizon Group 5); others are independent and innovative, like a group of cat- or bird-like anthropomorphic figurines (Late Middle Horizon Group 6). The earliest Chancay figurines also make their appearance at this stage, but are also studied separately (see Chapter 13).

In the southern sector of the study area, the Rimac and Lurín valleys, the late Middle Horizon is strangely under-represented. There is in fact only one clearly defined figurine group, common in Pachacamac, but also found in Rimac sites (Maranga, Huallamarca, Vista Alegre). Probably slightly earlier and contemporary with Huaura, this group fits better into the next stage, spanning the late MH and early LIP (see Chapter 12).

Interestingly, if we compare the ceramic styles—other than figurines—during the same period, there is not such a marked separate development between the northern and southern sector of the Central Coast. Both at Pachacamac and in the Ancón and Chancay areas (less so at Supe) we have ample evidence of both Uhle's Epigonal style (black and white designs on a red grounding) and its later derivatives (referred to as Epigonal-related or -derived), as well as his 3-colour geometric style (black and red designs on a white grounding), though Pachacamac seems to lack the 4-colour Epigonal (black, white and dark red or purple on red); the press-molded red ware is also less common there. The overall impression is one of great diversity¹, not of a single style, "...tentatively called the Chillón style...", as suggested by MacNeish, Patterson, Browman (1975:62). The relative chronology of these styles is discussed at length in the introduction to Chancay figurines, chapter 13.

An Ancón sub-style?

While studying the large sample of late MH/early LIP Central Coast figurines one frequently observes features which appear to be specific to the Ancón area. The main characteristics of this

¹ For a brief comparison of pottery styles found at Pachacamac, Ancón and Chancay see Willey (1943b).

Ancón sub-style reside in the wares: these are fairly coarse red wares, with an unpolished surface. The decor is either press-molded or painted. The latter consists either of a thin, whitish slip (the red colour always showing through the white), or of simple white designs or of a black-white-red decor, also applied with thin, watery pigments.

Pottery styles related to these wares are not well described in the literature. Menzel (1977:47) briefly refers to a press-molded pottery of "north-coast tradition" in MH4 burials at Ancón, some with "the new chalky white slip of Chancay". Willey (1943b:203) lists a late White-on-Red style and a pressed or relief-decorated red ware as typical—together with 4-colour epigonal—for Middle Ancón II (MH4). The figurines show that whilst the press-molded Ancón sub-style disappears after MH4, the White-on-red survives into the early phases of the LIP.

As far as the figurines are concerned, it has not been possible to isolate a specific Ancón group or groups, except for a small unaffiliated group, but which also shows Huaura and early Chancay influences (see chapter 11, Unaffiliated Group1). More commonly we see Ancón-style features in established groups (see Supe nos.1048-1591, Huaura 2, Chancay 1.1.4, 1.2.4, 1.3.4). These Ancón admixtures can add to the difficulties of distinguishing between known groups, for instance between Huaura and early Chancay (see chapter 13).

GROUP 1: WARI-PACHACAMAC-RELATED FIGURINES WITH STRONG EARLIER LOCAL TRAITS

Table 9

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.308-309

Plate 8

Sample: 17 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Heterogeneous group of elongated figurines with a fairly flat profile. The head shows fronto-occipital deformation, the eyes are generally round, protruding, the nose can be large and high-rooted, the mouth is often raised and/or incised. The applied arms, which can be very short, are placed downwards or folded at the waist. The legs are short stumps or small protuberances. There are five females and one male, ten figurines have no indication of sex; five specimens have rather large breasts (one female, one male, three sexless). The back is featureless; no clothes or accessories are worn.

The figurines are medium-sized (median size: 16.5 cm), hand-made and generally hollow. Four specimens with a punctated and incised facial decor form a sub-unit within the group.

Both atypical figurines are solid, one with a distinctive concave profile, a large umbilicus and a two-row necklace, the other with laterally extended arms. One of the associated figurines is very roughly made, the other, a head fragment, has unusual incised features and hair.

DISCUSSION

Special features

The incised and punctated decor (518, 94, 1031, 227) consists of parallel incised lines, each either with a row of dots above or enclosing several dots. This decor is placed diagonally or vertically across the cheeks, also under the eyebrows on 227. 1031 also has dots around the eyes and on the mouth replacing the more common incision.

Note also the atypical head (1478) with incised features and hair and a bilobation, a cranial deformation unique for Pachacamac.

Links with other groups

This group presents some tricky chronological problems, because it shares traits both with Early Intermediate Period and with early Middle Horizon figurines. In fact many of the traits appear to have survived from one period into the other.

Early Intermediate Period features :

- The elongated body resembles some Lima specimens, although in this group the profile tends to be flatter.
- Arms extended downwards towards the waist occur on an early EIP specimen (815, chapter 6) and on a late EIP specimen (633, chapter 7)
- The high-rooted nose (with or without nostrils) also occurs in the same EIP groups.
- The punctated decor is similar to an early EIP figurine from Tablada (807, see chapter 6).
- The position of the air-holes behind the upper arms is marginally more common in the early EIP group (chapter 6), though the high proportion of head fragments in that group prevents a proper count. Altogether the air-hole position appears to be fairly undetermined at this stage.

Traits shared with Middle Horizon figurines :

- The most striking resemblance is with the Wari-Pachacamac-related figurines of early MH group 4 (see chapter 8): same elongated shape of the body with a flatter profile. An additional shared trait are the unusually large breasts, especially when placed to the sides like on 440 (cf. 431 in chapter 8, group 4). At least four of the figurines also come from Pachacamac. The main differences between this group and Wari-Pachacamac are: the

Pachacamac. The main differences between this group and Wari-Pachacamac are: the presence of cranial deformation (except for 440), the lack of painted eyes or of the hair or head-dress featured in the back (all late Nasca/Atarco-derived features).

- Just like Wari-Pachacamac-related specimens, this group is also related with the Teatino group (below, group 3), though the classic Teatino figurines with their tapering bodies, somewhat longer legs and shallow-groove decor are very specific. Bonavia (1962:46) regards 2008 as belonging to the Teatino style.
- Bulging circular eyes (440, 227, 518, 534) appear on some Nievería face-necks (cf. Kroeber 1954: Frontispiece) and on a face-neck from Pachacamac (Fig. 22), which might have been associated with 1515 (see below Chronology), but could also be later. Such eyes recur sporadically (see 1846, Huaura 4, chap. 11 and others).
- The virtual absence of legs on some of the figurines resembles the Nievería figurines found at Maranga (P29, P30, chapter 8, group 1). Short legs with a flat base do not seem to occur before the MH.



Fig. 22

Context

Six specimens come from burial contexts, two of them from documented graves: 2009 was found in Ancón grave P25, the burial containing at least one woman, associated with a gold spindle whorl, as well as a number of other weaving implements and vessels). It is not certain that 2008 comes from grave P6¹ and I have no data about the burial: it contained a number of vessels as well as necklaces, but these are not sex-specific (see Appendix 3). Although 1515 also comes from a burial, Uhle himself is not clear about its associations (see below).

Note that a third of the figurines have damaged faces: there is the possibility of ritual mutilation.

Geographic distribution

Provenances	Huaura V.	Chancay V.	Ancón	Pachacamac
Certain			3	3
Fairly reliable	1		1	3
Unverifiable		1		

Six of the twelve provenances are from Pachacamac, all of them certain or fairly reliable. The scarcity of figurines from the sector north of Ancón could be explained by the contemporary emergence of Teatino and Supe style figurines in those areas.

¹ See Table 9, note 3

Chronology

The figurines in this group have a misleading archaic appearance, but are dated to MH2B/MH3 on the following grounds :

Several figurines (1507, 1508, 1515, 1478) were excavated by Uhle in sectors of Pachacamac yielding mainly MH2 and MH3 material (see Appendix 1). Unfortunately these specimens cannot be dated precisely, because their exact contexts are unknown:

- 1507 is said to come from Gravefield I, but was bought from *huaqueros*;
- 1508 comes either from the "oldest part of Gravefield I" or from "beneath the Temple" (see Appendix 2). The inventory lists it as OPGI, but Stearns (1967: Table I/4) gives nos.1044 to 1065 as "Beneath the Temple", i.e. not in the oldest part. The dates here go from MH2B to MH4.
- The catalogue entry for 1515 reads : "Beneath the Temple of Pachacamac, from one of the mummies, lists of objects of which are given with 26836, 26787, 29710", but the figurine is not listed with any of these.
- 1478 comes from "the loosened soil" i.e. probably the "new soil" and dating to MH3-4.

Luckily some figurines from Ancón can be dated :

- Grave P25, containing 2009, is dated to MH2B by Menzel (1977:44).
- Grave P6, under which 2008 is listed, is dated by Menzel to MH2B. P5 and P10, two other graves from which this specimen might come¹, are dated respectively to MH3 (see Menzel 1977:fig.99, from P5) and MH2B (Menzel 1964:54).
- 227 comes from the Reiss and Stübel excavations at Ancón. The Middle Horizon material from this excavation mainly dates from phases MH2B to MH4 (see Haas 1986: nos.3-43)².

Vessels from Pachacamac with characteristics similar to some of the figurines are also difficult to date:

- One vessel (Fig.23) said to come from "beneath the Temple"³ and therefore dating to MH3 or MH4 features a punctated facial decor. It is quite similar to another vessel from Pachacamac, which Uhle (1903: Pl.8, fig.9) dates to the "later Pre-Inca period". However at this point Uhle was not aware of the length of time which elapses between his "Epigonal" and "Inca" styles: amongst his "later Pre-Inca" pieces he shows a number of MH2B to MH4 specimens (Pl.8, figs.1-4, 6). The shape of the vessel under discussion somewhat resembles early Ichma specimens, dated by Bazán (1991:Lám.1, fig.458; Lám.2, 521) to MH4, but similar shapes may also have existed earlier.



Fig. 23

¹ See Table 9, note 3A.

² Unfortunately I myself mislead R.Haas to date his no.101 (my 227) to the early EIP.

³ This vessel is part of one of the burials from which 1515 is said to come.

- Another vessel (Fig.24) comes from Gravefield I and could therefore date from MH3 into the LIP, though a MH3 date is more likely. It shows some punctated decor, in this case bordered by straight lines, somewhat similar to 227 and 94. Note also the circular eyes. Its shape is similar to fig.23.



Fig. 24

To summarize: Only one figurine in this group (2009) is definitely dated to MH2B and a further one (2008) to either MH2B or MH3. The remaining specimens are dated through their resemblance with these figurines, with Wari-Pachacamac related figurines (chapter 8) and Teatino figurines (below, group 3) and through their provenance from predominantly MH3-4 contexts at Pachacamac.

It is interesting to note that although obviously derived from the Wari-Pachacamac-related figurines of early MH group 4 (see chapter 8), this group shows none of the Atarco-derived characteristics, such as the absence of cranial deformation, or the painted hands and/or eyes and hair (at the back). Note also that at this stage there is no marked difference between the figurines from Pachacamac and those from Ancón.

Within the group 440, with its undeformed head, laterally placed breasts and air-hole in the vulva (an Atarco trait), is closest in time to the Wari-Pachacamac group, though several of the remaining specimens could also date to MH2B, the majority dating to MH3.

It is very difficult to date the atypical 95 and 79. The overall shape relates them to this group, but they are both solid, which is somewhat unusual. The incised genital triangle, large umbilicus and double row necklace of 95 and the extended arms of 79 are traits encountered later (cf. Huaura 2.2, early Chancay 1.3). So they could date from MH4 to LIP 1-3?

A wooden figurine with ceramic mask from Pachacamac

This specimen (fig. 25) from Uhle's Gravefield I, is included in the study because of the ceramic "component": the roughly carved wooden figure is 20.3 cm high, 7.7 cm wide and ca 2.0 cm thick. It has a sketchily carved head with artificial hair, to which is attached a ceramic mask. The body has arms folded at the abdomen and straight, fully separated legs without feet. The female genitals are rendered by a raised area cut by a shallow groove. The ceramic mask measures 6.0 cm and shows elaborate modelling: furrows on the brow, empty eyesockets, a nose with nostrils and *alae*, prominent cheeks, a large mouth, originally with two lower teeth. There are traces of red pigment on the greyish pottery. The figure is dressed in a coarsely woven garment.



Fig. 25: Wooden figurine with ceramic mask, hair and clothing, from Pachacamac

The figure recalls the large wooden, ceramic or textile masks representing false heads on MH2 and later mummy bundles. However, in this case, the mask is attached directly to the "corpse". This could be a symbolic "short cut" or have a different meaning altogether.

A number of such figures were found at Pachacamac. It is interesting to note how different the facial features of the mask is from contemporary pottery figurines. But there are notable similarities with late Nasca/Chakipampa-derived ceramic figurines from the South Coast (cf. Lavalle 1986:115): similar shape of body, attached hair, clothing.

GROUP 2: MISCELLANEOUS HYBRID FIGURINES

Table 10

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.309-310

Plate 8

Sample: 9 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Stylized standing figurines with large heads, wider than the body. The features are incised, except for the nose which can be very large and high-rooted. The body can be tapering or straight, with arms folded at the waist and very short legs. Genitals or breast are not shown. Two specimens wear circular ear-plugs.

Within the group there appears to be a sub-division between more realistic figurines with a narrower tapering body (2007 to 538) and very stylized specimens with extremely wide heads,

short, straight or bulging bodies (1219 to 1055), with SAC 279 and 1355 sharing characteristics of both.

The figurines are medium-sized (median height: 15.3 cm), hand-modelled and generally hollow, the surface finish is usually smoothed, but seldom slipped, the colours vary from cream or buff to terracotta or light brown; the decor is incised, rarely painted.

DISCUSSION

Links with other groups

Although the figurines in this group share many characteristics, one grouping (2007, 874 and 538) is more clearly related, by shape and posture, to the Ancón figurines within the Wari-Pachacamac-derived figurines (see 2008, 2009, group 1)—traits like the smaller, pointed nose and the bilobation appear to be characteristic for the Ancón area—and to Teatino (group 3). There may also be some influence (large head, rendering of arms) from the Supe group (chapter 10).

The basic influences for the more stylized figurines (SAC 279 to 1355), some of which come from Pachacamac, appear to be rooted in the EIP and earlier MH figurines: the overall shape of the body and legs, the high rooted nose, the large head with projecting temples, the absence of mouth (96, 1355), or arms all occur earlier (early EIP, Lima, Nievería), but also survive sporadically into the later MH. Note the air-hole between the legs (1355), an Atarco/Wari-Pachacamac (MH2) feature, which also occurs on 440 (above, group 1).

Isolated features linking this group to later groups :

- The nearly elliptic head, wider than the body (SAC 279, 1219, 96, 1055) also occurs on P51 and 228 (Supe-Huaura Hybrids, chapter 10) and 87, 504 (Unaffiliated Gr.1, chapter 11).
- The outlining of the chin (538) becomes quite common in Supe and Huaura 2.
- The eyes of 1055 are incised in the typical broad, shallow incisions of the Teatino style.
- The elongated eye-brows (2007, 874, SAC 279) have a parallel in early Chancay (1.2, 1.3.4, chapter 13).
- Triangular incised eyes (96, 1506) occur on two late MH face-necks from Pachacamac¹ (fig. 26 and FMC 7339 not illustrated).
- The "rectangular" nose is very common for Huaura and other late MH figurines. Together with earplugs placed at an angle, as on 1506, 1055, these features appear on 611 (Huaura 2.1).
- 1219 has several later traits: angular cross section of the arms (see



Fig.26

¹ Part of Uhle's material received from the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Supe 136, 1230, 1175); arms inscribed inside the body outline (see 551, SAC 368, etc., Huaura 2.1); wide, straight crotch (see 1206, P47/P48, 2272 (Huaura 4).

- The representation of three fingers (1506, 1355), probably symbolising a bird feature, occurs sporadically throughout the late MH as well as early Chancay (see Chancay sg.1.1, Discussion).
- 1355 has a horizontal groove across the chest, like 704 from Cajamarquilla (see chapter 14).

Context

2007 and 874 both come from burials (see Appendix 3). The former is part of a large gravelot, containing a number of ceramics, as well as shells, spindle-whorls and a necklace: the sex of the buried is not know; 874 was associated with the remains of an infant and one vessel.

1506 was found "between the mummy 377" (Uhle's catalogue entry), probably meaning inside a mummy bundle, but no other data are available.

Geographic distribution

Provenances	Ancón	Pachacamac
Certain	2	1
Fairly reliable		1
Unverifiable		

1506 is said to come from the "oldest part of Gravefield I" at Pachacamac, "from a mummy buried deep". The other Pachacamac reference is fairly reliable.

Chronology

2007, from Uhle's Ancón grave P5, is dated by Strong (1925: 179-180) to Middle Ancón I, and more specifically to MH3 by Menzel, on the basis of the gravelot (Menzel 1977:fig.99; Strong 1925:Pl.46 I). The resemblance of 2007 with Supe and features like the outlining of the chin and the elongated eyebrows may indicate that we are dealing with the latter part of that period.

The provenance of 1506, said to come from the "oldest part of Gravefield I, from a mummy buried deep" could point to MH2B.

To resume: although some of the figurines in this group may date to MH2B, links with Teatino, Supe and Huaura point to MH3, even to its later part.

GROUP 3: THE TEATINO FIGURINES

The Teatino Pottery Style

The name *Teatino*, given to the pottery style by J.C. Tello, comes from the site El Teatino (near Pampa Doña Maria), at the foot of the Lomas de Lachay, about 15 km north of the Chancay Valley.

Teatino pottery is found mainly in the Ancón and Chancay area and as far North as the Huaura Valley and South to the Chillón and Rimac Valleys. Although not mentioned in the literature, I have recorded at least one typical Teatino bottle from Uhle's Gravefield I at Pachacamac (Fig. 27: UPMP 26941/1606); another Teatino vessel from the same location may have been part of a "foreign" burial (see Supe/Pachacamac hybrid, group 5, chapter 10).



Fig.27

At Ancón, Teatino pottery is listed under the monochrome pottery in Strong's Middle Ancon I (1925:148-152); Willey calls it "Middle Ancon I Incised" (1943a:190-191). The most detailed study of shapes and designs, but without a chronological seriation, is that of Bonavia (1962). Kroeber (1944:45) gives the best description of the ware: "fine-grained, smooth-textured, apparently unslipped, moist-incised with a fairly blunt point. The most typical pattern seems to be a zigzag line with dots in the angles...The colour varies from reddish through brown to almost black."

Menzel sees a continuum of the Teatino pottery tradition starting in MH1B and lasting into the early part of the LIP (1977:44-45; 1964:35, 54 and note 325). In the Chancay valley Teatino pottery spans phases 2B to 4 of the Middle Horizon (Cornejo 1991: 105). Putting all the evidence—including a number of Ancón and Chancay gravelots—together, the main phase of the style is MH3.

Eight figurines are included in the Teatino group: six associate a specific shape with the typical pottery and the distinctive broad blunt incision technique; the two atypical specimens have some features done in this typical technique. In addition I have recorded three figurines from Ancón 1 graves, resembling the above and/or associated with Teatino style pottery (see figs. 28-30)).

THE FIGURINES OF THE TEATINO STYLE

Table 11

Catalogue: Vol.II, p. 311

Plate 9

Sample: 8 figurines.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Fairly homogenous group of standing figurines, with a rounded or bilobed head, showing fronto-occipital deformation, and an elongated, tapering body, with thin modelled arms and short conical, fully separated legs. The stylized facial traits are drawn with the typical blunt, broad incisions of the Teatino pottery style; the mouth is often rendered by two lateral indentations. No genitals, breasts or clothing are represented.

The atypical 1033 has joined legs, outlined arms and incised hair; 552 is very flat, solid, with an oversize nose and incised arms.

The figurines are medium-sized (median height: 14.9 cm), hand-made and generally hollow, with air-holes placed behind the upper arms, but rather low down. The surface colour varies from red to brown or black.

DISCUSSION

Links with other groups

This group is obviously rooted in the local tradition, reaching back into the EIP and early MH (see Lima, and early MH groups 1,3,4), sharing the general shape, short legs (the extremities rising in the back or flattened), folded arms (some upwards), but with some variations in the head shape (the bilobation in the local tradition, the rounded crown possibly showing a Wari-Pachacamac influence). To this tradition is now added the characteristic Teatino decorative technique.

The typical Teatino incised decor also occurs on isolated specimens in other groups:

- 451 and 436 (group 4, chapter 8,) have Teatino eyes, but with pupils painted white; 436 wears a belt and a vertical band at the back, decorated in Teatino broken lines-and-dots decor. These are examples of early Teatino influence at Pachacamac.
- 1055 (see group 2, this chapter) has Teatino eyes.

In addition there is a hybrid group with a Teatino component (Supe/Teatino hybrids, chapter 10).

As far as the atypical figurines are concerned :

- 1033 has very interesting parallels with the Middle Formative 669 (see Ancón 1.4, chapter 5): the outlined folded arms, the joined legs forming a broad base and the horizontal groove at waist level. However 669 shows a very elaborate, undoubtedly early decor and its head is unfortunately missing. Since 1033 has the "composite" eye of many Middle Horizon figurines (cf. 599 in this group, SAC 279, 1219 in group 2 above and others) and a typical Teatino mouth, it clearly belongs to that style; the outlining of the arms also occurs on a Teatino face-neck (Dockstader 1967:fig.125)¹.
- 552 with its solid body, perforated at chest level, its elliptic head and its enormous nose is related to Late MH Group 6 (chapter 10) and Huaura 4 (chapter 11).

Context

830 comes from a grave excavated by Horkheimer at Lauri, Chancay Valley (sector V, grave 11), but I have no data about this burial, except for some associated pottery (see Chronology). It is likely that the other figurines were also found in graves.

Geographic distribution

All the specimens have very or fairly reliable provenances from the Chancay Valley and one from the Huaura Valley. The grave excavated at Lauri V, comes more specifically from the cemetery Socavón, to the north-east of Lauri, on the slopes of Cerro Las Minas (Cornejo 1991:103). In addition figurines showing some Teatino influence have been found in Ancón (see figs 28-30) and at Pachacamac (see above).

Chronology

This sample contains no typical Teatino figurines associated with earlier or later ceramic styles. 830, from Horkheimer's grave Lauri V-11 is associated with two typical Teatino jars (see Appendix 3 and Pl. G1), corresponding to Bonavia's types A and L (1962:82). A similar Teatino jar from Uhle's Ancón grave P24 (Kaulicke 1983:Abb.54B2) dates to MH3. Because of its homogeneity the group can be dated to MH3.

The typical Teatino technique occurs on some Atarco-related figurines from Pachacamac (451, 436, group 4, chapter 8), which probably also date to MH3 . Amongst the Supe/Teatino hybrids (chapter 10) 2001, from Uhle's Ancón grave M12, is associated with a typical Teatino bottle (LMB 4- 5611), dating to MH3 (see Pl. G2).

The resemblance of 552 with Late MH group 6 and Huaura 4 might date it to MH4.

¹ According to Kroeber (1944:45) J. Tello detected a Chavin influence in Teatino pottery. There is no doubt that the blunt incisions on Early Ancón pottery are somewhat similar to Teatino, but the figurines are quite different, especially the eyes.

Amongst the figurines, sketched in the *Inventario* of the Ancón 1¹ excavations, P.8554 (Fig. 28) from grave T.661 (*Inventario*, Vol. XII?) is said to come from a "Teatino" grave and resembles the atypical 552. P.1199 (Fig.29) from grave T.83 (*Inventario* vol.V?:7) does not look like a typical Teatino figurine—though it is not unlike 599—but the *Inventario* sketches do not aim at accuracy; it is associated with a Teatino jar (P.1198). Finally P.9209 (Fig.30).from grave T.688 (*Inventario*, Vol. XII?), also associated with Teatino pottery (P.9208, P.9210), reminds me more of early Chancay types dating from MH4 to LIP 1-3.



Fig. 28



Fig.29

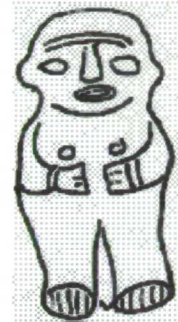


Fig.30

The contrast between the typical Teatino figurines and the variety of figurines associated with Teatino pottery or influenced by the style (see above) tends to confirm Menzel's idea (1977:45) of the displacement of members of a Teatino community from its home in the Chancay/Huaura area to other locations on the Central Coast .

CONCLUSION

The first three groups of the Late Middle Horizon are still rooted in earlier local traditions, though many new currents, which will come to the fore at the next stage, can already be felt.

¹ See Appendix 2.

CHAPTER 10

THE FIGURINES OF THE LATE MIDDLE HORIZON - GROUPS 4 TO 6 (INNOVATIVE)

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 9 we examined late Middle Horizon figurines still showing some links with earlier traditions and therefore constituting a transitional phase. This chapter covers more innovative groups, such as the Supe figurines (Group 4), showing some influence from the North Coast, various hybrids with a Supe component (Group 5) and a unique group of anthropomorphic figurines, resembling cats or birds (Group 6).

In 1905 Uhle excavated the site of Chimu Capac on the Hacienda San Nicolás, in the lower Supe Valley. Here he uncovered a local variant of pottery, combining highland and coastal Middle Horizon traits with a strong Moche component (Kroeber 1925b; Menzel 1964:55; 1968b:83; 1977:29-36). The assemblage does not constitute a separate style, except perhaps for the face-necks and figurines, representing a well defined personage; this is why the name "Supe figurines" seems appropriate for the figurine group.

The figurines excavated by Uhle at Chimu Capac clearly show the Moche component. Not only are they mold-made, but very similar figurines are found at the site of Moche itself, and closely related ones in the Virú and Santa valleys, so it is quite possible that they were also manufactured in the Casma or Huarmey valleys. Their main distribution area however lies further south, in the Huaura and Chancay valleys and at Ancón.

Although the Supe group spans phases MH2B to the end of MH4, it is not transitional group. In fact it heralds a new era, both iconographically—with the introduction of clothing and large headdresses—and technically—bringing in the mold technique from the North Coast¹.

¹ An earlier mold-made group (Early Middle Horizon Group 3, chapter 8) though probably found on the Central Coast, may have been imported from the Central and South Central Highlands.

GROUP 4: THE SUPE FIGURINES

Table 12

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 312-315

Plates 9-13

Sample: 103 Figurines.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

The main features are: a very large head with a semi-circular crown, a squat, leg-less body, with arms folded at the waist. The facial features are molded; face-paint is generally present (all over, or zoning with contrasting outline, more rarely tear-lines, nose-to-chin lines, etc.). Hands are sketchy, mostly with four incised or molded fingers; feet can be indicated by protuberances. Genitals are not shown, possibly because a large number of specimens appear to be wearing a long tunic, depicted by its lower edge and sometimes ornamented with a central vertical band; but nipples are very common. By analogy with the Moche and Huaura head-dress one can assume that these figurines represent females. The back varies, but shows four main types. A head-dress (or hair) is always shown, other accessories are a variety of necklaces and ear-plugs.

In spite of these homogenous characteristics, the group shows a number of different stylistic and iconographic variants. They are not specific enough to define sub-groups, but probably represent regional and—to a lesser degree—temporal variations :

- Nos. 1929 to 1435: Moche influence and related development, predominantly Back A; provenance mainly Supe, south to Chancay;
- Nos. 1230 to 5: Figurines with a more elongated body, all with Back C; provenance mainly Supe, and south to Huacho;
- Nos. 2037 to 1718: Figurines sharing a different "look", grouped through *linkage* (i.e. traits shared by two or more specimens): Back A1a, jutting chin, high ears, Back A3; provenance mainly Huacho and Chancay;
- Nos. 68,69: Small Teatino influenced figurines, Back B; provenance Ancón;
- Nos. 1913 to SAC 406: Three near identical small figurines, provenance unknown;
- Nos. SAC 381 to 1591: squatter figurines, often with large ear-plugs and a variety of backs; these are typical for Ancón. They can be subdivided tentatively into three clusters :

SAC 381 to 351: early ?

1862 to 1047: "classic"

1048 to 1591: strong local, Ancón- or Huaura-related influences,

though sometimes found with the "classic" types (see grave T.680).

- The atypical figurines, probably late, except for C2.

The figurines range in height from 4.3 cm to 21.5 cm, but nearly 80% measure between 11.0 cm and 17.0 cm (median height: 14.1 cm); the relative width and thickness is also consistent. All, except three figurines, are mold-made and hollow, with air-holes mostly at the upper arms or shoulders. Wares vary, the most common being epigonal-derived with two to four colours on an orange base. A buff ware with black decor and Ancón-style red wares (with thin white decor or press-molded) are also common.

DISCUSSION



Fig. 31

The Supe figurine type appears to represent the archetypal woman. Any variations are stylistic rather than iconographic. However Menzel (1977:49) interprets the decor painted on one of the figurines (2014, from Uhle's grave T7 at Ancón) as mythical, showing the Sky God and spirit birds. Some vessels showing the same or a similar personage give additional clues.



Fig. 32

On one of them, the personage, unmistakably belonging to the Supe type, is covered with *aji* and other produce, perhaps representing a harvest deity (Fig. 31: MAL 3087). On another vessel, a personage wearing a high head-dress with step motif and *tumi*, is sitting cross-legged on a litter or throne—Moche personages in the same attitude are common—and obviously represents a ruler, probably a male (fig. 32: MAL 2573). At Chimú Capac itself a number of such vessels also represent high-status personages (Kroeber 1925b:Pl. 72 a,b,g). So either the Supe figurine depicts a common human being, with variations of the decor, or perhaps this personage is altogether more complex.

Special features

1986 is a double-faced "Janus" figure, a similar—though not identical—mold being used for both aspects. This type of representation, which occurs sporadically on the Central Coast during the Middle Horizon may have a mythical connotation (see chapter 8, group 1).

Six figurines (596, P.11200, 671, 2182, 169, 1812) have stylized feet, with incised or molded toes, bent inwards near the base of the figurine. This feature does not represent a second set of arms.

Links with other groups

This group, which has no stylistic antecedents on the Central Coast, has its roots in the Moche culture, both iconographically and technically. Surprisingly many iconographic features are shared with classic, rather than late Moche:

- The large panel at the back, representing either a scarf or hair (Back A1, Back A3) occurs in classic Moche (phase IV?), especially on female shamans (see Figs. 33, 34). The knee-length tunic is also of classic Moche origin. Both features are female characteristics.
- The facial traits of some of the early figurines in this group, especially the modelling of the cheeks and the appearance of the profile, are very similar to classic Moche (e.g. 1929, 1983).
- The closest resemblance, however, is with a group of late Moche/early Middle Horizon figurines from the Moche valley, showing only minimal differences in the shape of the headdress, the back, the position of the air-holes (cf. Kroeber 1925a: Pl.64g; Donnan and Mackay 1978:273, fig.A; 287, fig.A)¹. Similar figurines, except that they stand on separate legs and have a painted decor, also occur in the Virú and Santa valleys (Bennett 1939: Fig.5g; Wilson 1988: Fig.252). A similar headdress and related backs also survive in the Chimú style.

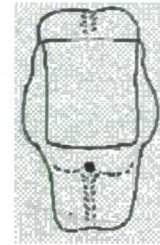


Fig.33

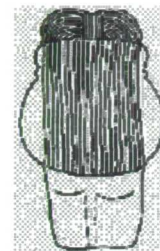


Fig.34

- We see a radical change in technology, with the introduction of the mold, though the position of the air-holes (at the upper arms, more rarely at the neck or shoulders) has local antecedents.

Gradually the Moche influence vanishes, though isolated North Coast features may still occur, especially at Chimú Capac: the hair ending in serpent heads (1435 and 1982) occurs on a MH face-neck from the Santa Valley (Wilson 1988:481, fig.249).

Curiously, Wari influences from both the Highlands and Pachacamac, which Menzel (1977) identifies in the Chimú Capac assemblage, have little impact on the figurines, except possibly:

- the characteristic black pupils centered in white eyeballs (201, 2126 of unknown provenance). These are distinct from the more common Supe eye, with some white paint on the pupils, leaving the center unpainted. Note also the vertically divided eyes of 2203, a Wari motif.
- the overall painting of the face in a darker colour is common on Wari-style figurines (Viñaque, Atarco, Wari-Pachacamac), but it also occurs in Moche. The stepped facial decor (used in the Supe type as the outline of facial zoning) occurs on large Pacheco face-necks, but on figurines it has only Moche antecedents. Tear-lines, a typical Wari feature, are very rare in Supe (ca 7%), but that may have to do with the actual personage represented in the Supe group.
- the 4-*picos* headdress (2196 (broken), 882, 796, 2203, 774, 775, C2), which does not occur on figurines of the Wari styles (Viñaque, Atarco, Wari-Pachacamac), is nevertheless typical of Wari (see Early MH Group 3, chapter 8).

The reason for the lack of Wari influence may be that the group dates mainly to the late MH, when such influences had already disappeared on the Central Coast.

¹ It can be difficult to distinguish between the two groups: 1863 has been included in Supe because of the face-paint (absent in the North Coast group) and the air-holes through the upper arms, rare in the North Coast group.

In the Huacho-Chancay-Ancón area the figurines appear to develop into a regional sub-style (there may also be a chronological factor at play, see chronology), with a squatter body, and often disk ear-plugs. Here we soon see an interplay with the Ancón sub-style and Huaura style.

Traits shared with these styles are :

- Semi-circular head-dress with vertical stripes. Only the female head-dress is represented, which also confirms that the Supe figurines are female. The typical Huaura male head-dress, with two-, three- and 4-*picos* side by side, is absent. As we have seen, the head-dress with 4-*picos* at each corner can be worn by women.
- A sharp, flattened edge to the head-dress in profile (cf. 1799, 1643 with Huaura 2.1 and Unaffiliated gr.1 specimens);
- arms inscribed inside the body outline, starting from the chin (cf. 868, 1590, 161, 169 with 1182, 655, etc. in Huaura 2.1.);
- figurines with overall white-on-red decor (cf. 469, 663, 2014 with many Huaura 2.1 specimens) Note also the typical Huaura tab ears with parallel stripes on 663;
- paint applied to the front of the figurine and only to the back of the headdress (1799, 1590, 469);

But other specific Huaura features, such as "couples", do not occur in the Supe type.

There is also a scarcity of early Chancay traits, though the two types have been found associated: only a few figurines have three fingers; only a few figurines have elongated, molded eye-brows. Important early Chancay traits like bilobation or two sets of arms do not occur.

Context

Supe figurines were funerary offerings: at least 25 specimens come from graves. Often two or more figurines occur together, occasionally of different styles (see Appendix 3). At Chimú Capac the consecutive numbering of several figurines (see Chronology) may also indicate that they come from the same grave. In several instances (gravelots of 2011/2062, 2012, 2014) the figurines were found inside the *fardo*: 2012 "on the breast of the mummy" (Uhle, MS catalogue VII, p.28, no.4-5870).

Where we have complete recorded gravelots, there is no evident correlation with sex and age, as many are multiple burials, nor with occupation, as amongst others spindle-whorls are always present, nor with social status, as only two Ancón graves contained high status goods: Ancón 1/grave 674 a gold bracelet, two shell-and turquoise necklaces, a pair of large wooden disk ear-plugs, Uhle's grave T 7 very ornate ceramic ear-plugs, a stone star-mace with shell inlaid handle etc.

The function prior to deposition may have been linked with curing practices, as over half of the figurines appear to be rattles. However, one cannot always be certain that they were

intentionally made as such. The sound in a rattle is produced by two or more purpose-made ceramic balls placed inside the figurine before the molds are stuck together. But sometimes when the air-holes are punched into a figurine, the two lumps of clay which fall into the hollow cavity can produce the same sound after firing. Generally the sound produced by a genuine rattle is stronger.

The gravelot of 2012, a rattle, contained "some medicine bags, which were hanging outside the mummy bale" (Uhle, MS catalogue vol.VII, p.28, under unnumbered gravelot from Site T or M, nos. 5864-5870). Interestingly in the case of two figurines found inside one mummy bundle (2011, 2062), one is a rattle, the other not. The same occurs with an identical pair of figurines (2034, 2035), presumably deposited in the same grave.

Geographic distribution

Provenances	Supe	Huaura V.	Chancay V.	Ancón	Rimac V.	Lurín V.	Other
Certain	9		1	19			
Fairly reliable	2	6	7	1			(1Huarmey)
Unverifiable	6	3	3	3	1	4	3

Of the 46 certain or fairly reliable site attributions 24 % are from the Supe Valley, 30 % from the Huaura/Chancay valleys and 43.5 % from Ancón

Considering the existence of closely related figurines in the Moche, Virù and Santa Valleys, it is more than likely that similar figurines exist in the area between, such as the atypical 556, from Cerro Campanario, Huarmey, the unusual 671, collected by Tello on his way to the Callejón de Huaylas or 1736 from the North Coast. This may also apply to the unusual 1863 and 1812 from "near Trujillo" and "Chimbote", attributions which should be treated with caution (see Appendix 1, MAI), but could be correct.

There are no excavated or otherwise documented Supe figurines from sites south of Ancón:

- The "Lima?" attribution (1756) covers a number of objects said to have been found near the Lima Country Club. As three of them are Nasca, the whole site attribution is in doubt.
- Although the attributions of v.d.Zypen and Ber (see Appendix 1, MHP and MVB) are usually fairly reliable, I have reservations about the four "Pachacamac" attributions: with the exception of one hybrid (1516, Group 5.2), no similar or related specimens have appeared at the site.

Chronology

a) The ceramic material from Chimu Capac, Hacienda San Nicolás, lower Supe valley :

Menzel (1977:31) dates the pottery from the site to the Middle Horizon, from MH1B to MH4, with only about 34 out of 253 vessels dating to phases MH1/2, the remainder to MH3/4.

Contrary to his usual procedure, Uhle did not keep a record of the gravelots excavated at the site, with a few exceptions. But as usual, he numbered the finds consecutively, so that close numbers could indicate proximity in retrieval, in deposition and therefore in time. However a comparison of close catalogue numbers can only provide an approximate dating¹.

Of the nine specimens recorded from Chimu Capac (Kroeber 1925b:244), we find that five figurines (1985, 1984, 1435, 1982, 1983) have sequential numbering (Uhle's 7670-7674). This may mean that they were found in the same grave. Stylistically they are rather different, with two figurines showing strong Moche traits (1984=Uhle 7671, 1983=Uhle 7674), one still closely related (1985=Uhle 7670), the other two not. But it is not impossible to find several figurines of different styles in the same grave (see f.i. Ancón 1, grave 680 below).

If we try to date these figurines by their proximity with other finds: the closest available vessels are gravelot 6 (7658 to 7667, see Kroeber 1925b:Pl.77 h-o) and 7679 (ibid. Pl.77 c), all dated to MH2B by Menzel (1964:32; 1977:31), who stresses the mixture of influences (North Coast, Southern Highlands, Pachacamac) in gravelot 6. This early date also tallies with the similarity in the hairstyles of 1982 and 1435 with an early MH face-neck from Santa (Wilson 1988:481).

The nearest available numbers to P34 (= Uhle's 7647) are 7637 and 7634 (Kroeber 1925b:Pl.76 m and 75 e), both dated to MH2.

Two further sequentially numbered specimens (1988=Uhle 7360, 1987=Uhle 7361) could also date to MH2B, because of their proximity to 7359 (Kroeber 1925b:Pl.75 d), which is press-molded, with the designs re-outlined manually, a MH2 characteristic (Menzel 1977:32); but other near numbers like 7356 and 7366 (Kroeber 1925b:Pl.73 k,n) could be MH3.

The vessel nearest to the double-faced 1986 (Uhle 7178) is 7177 (Kroeber 1925b:Pl.72 d), a handled jar with a variant of "profile angel head". Both the broad spout and the "derived" design are untypical for MH2 and could be a local form or a later development. Because of the resemblance of 1986 to Huaura 2 figurines, I think that it cannot be earlier than MH 3.

¹ For instance 1989 (Uhle's 7656) from Salinas de Huacho is listed between sets of numbers from Chimu Capac (see Kroeber 1925b:237).

Considering how few vessels from Chimú Capac were found to date to MH1/2 it is surprising that the majority of figurines should be amongst them: it is more likely that my dating "method" is at fault. But early dates for some of the material must not be dismissed: very similar figurines from Moche (see Kroeber 1925a: Pl.64 g; Donnan and Mackay 1978:273, fig.A; 287, fig.A) are even dated to MH1B! On stylistic grounds I would date the earliest set of five figurines (1985, 1984, 1435, 1982, 1983) to MH2, with the "Moche" look-alikes dating to MH2A, the rest to MH2B; the remaining figurines from Chimú Capac would could date to MH3.

b) The ceramic material from Chancay and Ancón:

The dating is based on eleven gravelots (see Appendix 3 and Plates G1, G2), mainly with reference to Uhle's material from Ancón (Strong 1925; Menzel 1964; 1977). It can be difficult to distinguish between Middle Horizon phases 3 and 4, but we know that Menzel dates Strong's Middle Ancón I to MH2/3, his Middle Ancón II to late MH3/MH4.

- 831 (=LaV-3-VI) from Horkheimer's grave 3 at Lauri V (Socavón), contains a classic Teatino face-neck (La V-3-I) and a small tumbler (La V-3-II), both dating to MH3. This rather early date explains the late Moche-related aspect of the figurine. 1987, a small Supe figurine from Ancón, with Teatino eyes and profile, probably also dates to MH3.
- 2011 and 2062 come from the same mummy bale from Uhle's Ancón site "M or T", without other association. 2011 has the typical Moche derived back A and is a squatter Ancón variant of the early Supe figurine, whilst the painted decor of 2062, combined with a type D back look later to me. Sites M and T yielded mostly Middle Ancón II (MH3/MH4) pottery.
- P35 (=4-5707), from Uhle's Ancón grave T11. The grave is dated to MH4 by Kaulicke (1983:Abb.55A), on the strength of two figurines (see P51, Supe-Huaura Hybrids, below) and a non-diagnostic vessel.
- P.1415, from Ancón 1, grave 105, is associated with a press-molded vessel in the shape of a *spondylus* (P.1405), a cumbrous bowl with interior decor (P.1400), a jar with lateral handles and Teatino style(?) incisions around the neck (P.1407) and an unusual modelled vessel of a mother and child on its back (P.1408). The *spondylus* vessel has a MH2B parallel (Menzel 1977:fig.109A), but could be later, like the bowl and the jar; the drawing of the modelled vessel does not allow a proper diagnosis. A MH3/4 date for this gravelot seems reasonable.
- P.8055 from Ancón 1, grave 614, is part of a large gravelot, containing three press-molded vessels: (P.8051, P.8052, P.8053) all dating to MH4.
- P.11200 and P.11187 from Ancón 1, grave 873 are part of a gravelot containing 31 specimens. Amongst them is a "bird" figurine (see P.11174 in Group 6.2, below), a tumbler with modelled face (P.11171), the nearest equivalent dating to MH2B (Kroeber 1925b:Pl.77 l), but lower and with parallel yellow and black lines on red around the rim (MH3?); a second tumbler (P.11194) with a shape similar to a "3-colour geometric" vessel (cf. Kroeber 1926b:Pl.83F) but with black parallel and zigzag lines on a red background; a whistling jar with modelled head (P.11175),

reminiscent of a vessel from Uhle's T14 (Strong 1925:Pl.45c) dating to MH4; a jar (P.11179) not unlike a 3-colour geometric vessel from Chancay (Kroeber 1926a:Pl.85D); a long-necked bottle, with low handles and press-molded bird decor (P.11199), bearing some resemblance with a press-molded bottle from Uhle's grave T7, dated to MH4 (Kaulicke 1983:Abb.57,B3). Other vessels (P. 11182, P.11188) are more difficult to date. On balance MH4 seems a reasonable date.

- 864 (=P.8747) from Ancón 1 grave 674, contains two tumblers with decadent Pachacamac griffins (P.8745 and P.8767), similar in shape to one from Uhle's grave T15 (Strong 1925: Pl.44 o)¹, a bottle with press-molded bird (P.8748), all dating to MH3/4; a small double-vessel (P.8766) said to be of Chancay style. The ware itself is not described and the colour given in the *Inventario* is generally the colour of the paste, the surface colour rarely being mentioned. It is identical in shape and similar in design to Strong (1925:Pl.45h) from T15; here we see clearly that it is not Chancay black-on-white². Other vessels from grave 674 are difficult to date. The grave contained six *fardos*: large multiple graves are more typical of MH4 or the early LIP (Menzel 1977:45). Date : MH4.
- 867 (=P.8150), Ancón 1 grave 619—very similar to 864 (above)—is associated with an early epigonal-derived Chancay figurine (see 866/P.8149, Chancay 1.1.4). One associated vessel (P.8143) resembles a 3-colour geometric vessel from Ancón (Haas 1986: no.47); another (P.8140) is more difficult to date. Date: MH4.
- 1047, 1046, 868 (=P.8958, P.8965, P.8966?). Grave 680 at Ancón 1 is interesting because it contains three rather different Supe figurines: 1047 (P.8958) is a "classic" Supe figurine from Ancón, squat, with large disk ear-plugs, though the variant of type A4 back may mean a slightly later date; 1046 (P.8965) has a white-on-terracotta stripy headdress, showing a Huaura influence, the back is A2; 868 (P.8966? see Table 12) has the press-molded decor, arms starting from the chin, stripy headdress, indicating a disintegration of classic Supe under the influence of Huaura and/or the Ancón sub-style. The three figurines are associated with two vessels: P.8985, described as "*ornitomorfo*", resembles vessels representing a bird, with single spout and strap handle, occur both in Supe (Kroeber 1925b:Pl.74 a,b,c,f) and Ancón (Haas 1986: no.52) and span the late MH and the beginning of LIP; and P.8986, the latter clearly belonging to MH4 (cf. Menzel 1977: fig.112). Overall date : MH4 to LIP 1-2?
- P.11314 from Ancón 1 grave 879, is associated with a press-molded face-neck (P.11310) and a bottle (P.11308), with red and cream stripes, outlined in black. Both are very similar to vessels from Uhle's T7 (see Kaulicke 1983:Abb.57, B2, B4). Both are clearly MH4.
- 2014 (4-5716) from Uhle's grave T7 is dated to MH4 on the basis of a face-neck bottle with *spondylus* decor press-molded body (Menzel 1977:49). Other vessels include a press-molded high-necked bottle (4-5715) a handled bottle with vertical stripes (4-5712) and an elaborate ceramic ear-plugs (4-5718a), all illustrated in Kaulicke (1983:Abb.57B).

¹ Strong (1925:190) lists this specimen (5750) as being from T14, but it is clear from the numbering in T14 (circa 5609 to circa 5689) and T 15 (5750, 5756, 5776) and from Patterson's drawings of gravelot T15 (Hardy n.d.:125) that it comes from T15.

² Kaulicke (1983: Abb.57E), based on Strong, only illustrates two specimens from T15 (see note 1) and dates the grave wrongly to LIP 5-8.

Because of the lack of a proper analysis for the late MH phases it is difficult to assign the gravelots more precisely. But the overall chronology is fairly clear: the Supe type figurines start at the end of the early MH (MH2) in the Supe area (and/or further north?) where they may well continue throughout the later MH. During MH3 they make their appearance in the Huaura/Chancay/Ancón area, as evidenced by 831 from a Lauri gravelot and by the Supe/Teatino hybrids (see below, Group 5). The "classic" Supe figurine from Ancón, with a squat body and large disk earrings¹ (e.g. 1862, 864), appears in the latter part of MH3 and flourishes in MH4 (see most Ancón gravelots). During MH4 we notice a strong influence of the Ancón sub-style and/or the Huaura style, resulting in all sorts of "mutants", but contemporary with classic Supe (see gravelots Ancón 1/T.680 or Uhle's T7). Classic Supe is also contemporary with the Supe-Huaura hybrids (see Group 5 below) and even early Chancay (see gravelot T.619). So one cannot speak of a *gradual* change in the Supe figurine type: though they still occur at the very beginning of Chancay, they disappear quite suddenly at the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period.

GROUP 5: SUPE-RELATED HYBRID FIGURINES

SUB-GROUP 5.1: SUPE-TEATINO HYBRIDS

Table 13

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.315-316

Plate 13

Sample: 5 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Small figurines with a large head and a semi-circular crown with a very thin edge. Two figurines have incised eyes, all have a small modelled nose, but no other facial features or decor. The squat, square body has arms folded at waist and can have short legs. No genitals are shown, but two specimens have nipples.

DISCUSSION

Links with other groups

The overall shape of the figurines is clearly related to Supe, most obviously on the leg-less 1787. The legs, when shown, are stump legs (1788) or claw legs (2001) related to other hybrids (see Supe-Huaura, below). The Teatino element can be recognised in the shallow groove outlining of the eyes.

¹ Large disk ear-plugs are frequently found with Supe figurines in Ancón graves (see Supe Gravelots, App. 3)

Context

Four figurines come from Ancón graves. There are no data about the burials. 1788 is said to have been associated with two other "small" figurines. One of them is 1785 (see late MH Group 6.2 "Birds"), the other could be the near identical 1787, for which no provenance is given in the AMNH catalogue.

Geographic distribution

Out of five provenances, one certain and three fairly reliable ones are from Ancón.

Chronology

2001 from Uhle's Grave M12 was found with a typical Teatino bottle (LMB 4-5611, see Pl.G2). The grave is dated to Middle Ancón I (MH2-3) and should belong to the end of that period: MH3.

1788 was found in an Ancón grave with a "Bird" (1785): the Teatino link dates it to MH3/4.

SUB-GROUP 5.2: A SUPE-PACHACAMAC HYBRID

Table 13

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.316

Plate 13

Sample: 1 figurine

CHARACTERISTICS, DISCUSSION

1516 shows a female—the sex is indicated by the raised genital area—with arms folded over the abdomen and short legs. She wears a head-dress hanging down to mid-back, a large necklace and important disk ear-plugs, indicating high status. The figurine was found wrapped in a textile.

This is a unique specimen. Its main characteristics are obviously related to Supe figurines. However it was found at Pachacamac and has features like short separate legs and an air-hole between the legs (in addition to the classic Supe air-holes through the upper arms) atypical for Supe, but occurring at Pachacamac. The head and upper body appear mold-made, with the legs and perhaps the ear-plugs added. Unlike so many Supe figurines this is not a rattle.

The figurine (original no.1079b) was part of a multiple burial with large gravelot (nos.1068-1084: see Appendix 3 for detailed description). The figurine itself was found in a sewing basket, containing a number of unusual objects. These could belong to the *mesa* of a *curandero*, but could also have been dyes or ornaments (shell fragments) used in textile production.

To my knowledge this is the only late MH figurine with traits typical for the Ancón area but found at Pachacamac. The question is whether this was the burial of a “foreigner”? On the one hand, the associated pottery would not be out of place in Ancón—though it must be said that the late Middle Horizon pottery from Pachacamac is mostly unpublished and therefore unknown to us. On the other hand, the figurine itself shows traits like the air-hole placed between the legs, which are more typical for local figurines.

The figurine comes from “the oldest part of Gravefield I” dating from MH2B and MH3. The associated pottery (see Pl. G2) includes a Teatino vessel (1073), dating roughly to MH3, and two press-molded vessels (1069, 1071), dating to MH2B/MH3 (cf. Menzel 1977: figs. 100, 111). A face-neck (1068) certainly lacks the splendour of MH2B specimens. This and the position of similar figurines within the Supe sequence (cf. 2034-1717) inclines me to date this figurine to MH3.

SUB-GROUP 5.3: SUPE-HUAURA HYBRIDS

Table 13

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp.316-317

Plate 13

Sample: 11 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Heterogeneous assemblage of figurines sharing Supe, Huaura and other late Middle Horizon characteristics. The specimens are characterized by a large head, the lack of a neck or shoulders, a stocky body with folded arms and separate cylindrical legs. The sex is rarely indicated: one figurine is male, three or four are females. The figurines wear a variety of headgear and some wear clothing, shown by a vertical “textile” band.

DISCUSSION

Special features

SAC 289 is said to be double-faced, a rare feature occurring mainly during the MH which tends to occur (see discussion Chapter 8, Group 1).

1348 and SAC 284 have small lateral protuberances; on 1348 they can be identified with hip-bones, which are quite common in Chancay-Huaura (Chancay 5.2). On SAC 284 they seem too high and could represent a second set of (extended) arms (cf. 1701 in Huaura 2.2), but the photograph provided is unclear.

228 has two pairs of folded arms, as opposed to the common folded/extended combination (see Huaura 2.2.1 and Chancay 1.2). Another such figurine is 1044 (Unaffiliated Gr.1).

Links with other groups

This is clearly a hybrid group, but considering that the Supe group itself includes a series of figurines with Huaura or Ancón sub-style traits, it is difficult to separate the various influences:¹

Supe features :

- The upper body (head, lack of neck or shoulders) is more akin to Supe than Huaura;
- The genitals are mostly not indicated, whereas in Huaura they tend to be explicit;
- Disk ear-plugs with painted cross-and-dots design (cf. Supe 1862, 1046, 469, probably others now rubbed off);
- Back showing part of headdress hanging down (768, 1348, 190, others unrecorded) is of the Supe type A1 e.
- Vertical "textile" band to indicate clothing;
- Head-dress: The headdress with four *picos*, two in front and two at the back (SAC 293, 1384) occurs in Supe (cf.882-775), though in a slightly different form. Huaura 4-*picos* are aligned on one plane (cf. 1211, 1939 in Huaura 2.1, both damaged). A headdress reminiscent of 190 (to a lesser degree of SAC 284) is worn by Supe 1913. The painted "antler" or "branch" design (1348) is very similar to Supe 2062 (not visible on photograph).
- 1059 is a rattle, like many Supe figurines.

Huaura features²:

- Tab ears (much longer here), decorated with horizontal stripes;
- Arms inscribed inside the body outline and/or starting from the chin (cf. SAC 293, 1348, 228 with 1182, 655 etc. in Huaura 2.1);
- Separate legs; painted stripes across the legs (SAC 293, 228);
- Headdress with vertical stripes;
- Necklace of large beads.

Context

P 51 comes from Uhle's Ancón grave T11, were it is associated with at least one other figurine (see Appendix 3, gravelot to P35, Supe). 1059 found at Ancón 1, must also come from a grave.

¹ A vessel said to belong to the Huaura style, features a figurine with Supe traits in its centre (Sawyer 1975:fig.184).

² Some of these also occur on Supe specimens, where they are identified as Huaura-derived.

Geographic distribution

Two certain provenances are from Ancón, one fairly reliable one from the Huaura Valley.

Chronology

Uhle's Ancón grave T11, containing P 51, has been tentatively dated to MH4 (see P 35, Supe Chronology). Judging from the similarities with Supe, especially the occurrence of the A1 type of back, most of these figurines probably date to late MH3 or MH4.

GROUP 6: BIOMORPHIC FIGURINES (CATS, BIRDS)

Table 14

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp.318-319

Plate 14

- **SUB-GROUP 6.1: CATS**

Sample: 12 Figurines

- **SUB-GROUP 6.2: BIRDS**

Sample: 7 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Sub-group 6.1: Small standing figurines, often with broad shoulders or outstretched arms and a body tapering towards short, thin, separate legs. Most figurines have no indication of sex. The body is decorated with incised parallel lines and/or circles filled with white pigment. The head can be flat, bilobed or pointed, the eyes are circular, the mouth straight, the face is decorated with incised lines (cheeks, nose-to-mouth, eyes-to-temple), which give an impression of a cat's face.

Sub-group 6.2: Very small, highly stylized figurines, with wings instead of arms and short rounded appendages like tail feathers in lieu of legs, probably representing anthropomorphic birds. The only decor is a double incised outline of the wings and tail. The head is markedly bilobed, with circular eyes (somewhat different from sub-group 6.1) and an upturned mouth.

The two sub-groups are obviously related because of their black colour and incised decor, often filled with white post-fired pigment. Both are hand-made and generally solid. The atypical figurine is made in tricolour, epigonal-related ware.

DISCUSSION

Links with other groups

Sub-group 6.1 is closely related with “slab” figurines, (Huaura 4, chapter 11): same wide shoulders, often lack of arms, body tapering towards the legs¹. The form of the bilobation is reminiscent of some Teatino figurines (589, 830, chapter 9, group 3).

Figurines with a head deformation *por llautu* (Weiss 1962), resulting in an elongated, pointed head (1163, SAC 353 in sg.6.1), first appear in the late MH (see Huaura 3 and Unaffiliated gr.1, chapter 11) and become common in the Chancay culture (Group 2, Chapter 13).

Curiously there is one late Chancay black ware figurine (see 2257, Chancay 1.6.2, Chapter 13) which has a very similar shape and decor. This could be a late imitation, unless the group as a whole is wrongly dated ?

Sub-group 6.2 is unique, though an amulet with an anthropomorphic bird's (?) head—a possible predecessor—was found at Nievería (Gayton 1927:fig.6 c,d).

The mouth of 506 b, made of a shallow groove, is Teatino in technique (see Group 3, chapter 9).

Although the surface finish is reminiscent of Teatino², the incised decor with white incrustation (red on 259) may have been inspired by early Ancón figurines (see Chapter 5, Group1), found by the later inhabitants of the area. There can be little doubt that these earlier figurines, with their characteristic white, red and yellow incrustations served as model for some classic black Chancay figurines (Chancay Group 6.3).

The atypical bird (2320) is executed in an epigonal-derived 3-colour ware, with a powdery surface reminiscent of some Huaura figurines.

Context

At least six specimens come from graves: P.1849 and P.9752 were associated with infants, the latter also with a skeleton of high age, 869 (P.8313) with a woman, and P.11174 with three unspecified human remains. The latter was recovered as part of a necklace: the size and

¹ P.3874 would have been included in Huaura 4, had it not been for the black ware and incised decor with white incrustation.

² According to Menzel (1977:45) white incrustations are typical for the Teatino style, but I found no trace of incrustations in that group, as the grooves there are too broad and shallow.

suspension holes of all the "birds" (sg. 6.2)—except the large atypical 2320—and of 561 (sg. 6.1) show them to be amulets.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Chillón Valley
Sub-group 6.1 (Cats)			2	
Certain				
Fairly reliable		1		1
Unverifiable				
Sub-group 6.2 (Birds)				
Certain			4	
Fairly reliable	1			
Unverifiable				

The main provenance is Ancón, possibly because of more extensive excavations there. The two specimens with fairly reliable provenances from the Huaura Valley and Chillón Valleys are somewhat different from the mainstream. The Ica Valley is unlikely: it probably comes from the owner who considered the figurine to belong to the Paracas Cavernas style.

Chronology

There is only one association for sub-group 6.1: P.1849 from Ancón 1, grave T.163 is associated with a vessel (P.1848) resembling one from Uhle's Ancón Grave T14 (Strong 1925: Pl.45 n)¹, dating to MH4 (see Appendix 3, and Pl. G3).

In addition P.3874, a surface find from *Faja 74* at Ancón 1, can be dated by comparison with other "slabs" (Huaura 4) to the late MH or early LIP. Unfortunately none of the Ancón 1 graves recorded by me come from that particular excavation "strip" to confirm this dating.

Several sub-group 6.2 figurines come from Ancón 1 gravelots (see Appendix 3 and Pl. G3):

- 869 (P.8313) from Ancón 1, grave T.633 is associated with a bottle (P.9317) similar to 7316a from grave P.503, dating to MH3 (Ravines 1981:116); on the other hand a globular bottle with short neck and vertical stripes is nearer to a LIP 14 specimen (Kaulicke 1983: Abb.55.F) than to MH4 specimens (cf. Uhle's grave T14 in Kaulicke 1983: Abb.55.B3,5,7). Date: uncertain.
- P.9752 from Ancón 1, grave T.727 is associated with two Teatino style bottles (P.9761, P.9762), similar to material from Uhle's grave P 24 (Kaulicke 1983: Abb.54.B2), dating to MH3.
- P.11174 from Ancón 1, grave T.873 is part of a large gravelot, also containing two typical Supe figurines (P.11187 and P.11200), dating to MH3/4 (see Supe Chronology and Pl. G2).

¹ Strong (1925: 190) lists this vessel (5661) as being from T4, but it is clear from the numbering in T14, ranging from about 4-5609 to about 4-5689 and from Patterson's drawings of the T14 gravelot (Hardy n.d.:126) that it comes from T14. Note that the error is repeated by Kaulicke (1983: Abb. 56A.1).

- Finally 1785 was excavated by Bandelier at Ancón. The grave contained two further figurines: a Supe-Teatino hybrid (1788), and possibly 1787, also in that group, and probably dates to MH3/4.

Basically, both sub-groups are roughly contemporary. However some specimens could conceivably be much later. The discovery of a figurine, similar—in shape and decor—to sub-group 6.1 specimens like 694, but with a typical Chancay head-dress and face (see above “Links”), raises the question whether such Chancay-like features as the eye-to-temple lines (562, 561), the elongated head (1163, SAC 353) or the red incrustations (259) indicate that the type survived into classic Chancay?

CHAPTER 11

THE FIGURINES OF THE LATE MIDDLE HORIZON AND EARLY PART OF THE LATE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD - PART I: THE HUAURA FIGURINES AND UNAFFILIATED FIGURINES

INTRODUCTION

The name *Huaura style* was first coined by J.C.Tello¹. In his description of the Huara (sic!) style, Sawyer describes the Huaura pottery as "mold-made buffwares" (1975:123). But his illustrations and captions (1975:123) show a great variety of surface finishes and colours.

This variety is even more evident in the figurine material, in fact to such a degree, that it is not possible to speak of "figurines of the Huaura style". Rather we see a number of groupings, the majority said to come from the Huaura valley, which share *some* traits with the Huaura pottery style or styles and *many* traits amongst themselves and which develop separately from other contemporary local styles, in particular from Chancay.

Although the figurines related to the Huaura pottery style first make their appearance in the later part of the Middle Horizon, they introduce a new characteristic look into the representation of figurines. This dominates not only the Late Intermediate Period—including the Chancay figurines—but also survives with little change into the Late Horizon.

In addition to the Huaura figurines we find in the same area of the Central Coast a number of figurines which do not fit into the larger groups of the period (Supe, Huaura, Chancay), but which are certainly related to them. These are studied in this chapter as "Unaffiliated figurines".

¹ see T. Mejía Xesspe, *Cultura Huaura*, in *El Comercio* 23/08/1953 (A. Krzanowski, personal communication).

THE HUAURA FIGURINES

The relationship between the Huaura and Chancay figurines

It is quite common, in the Peruvian archaeological literature, to designate what I call "Huaura" figurines as "Chancay" or, at least to see a genetic relation between the two styles. For that reason, it is necessary to outline the relationship between these figurine groups.

Sawyer (1975:121-126) traces the development of the Huaura style from an early phase, closely related to Wari, through to a more independent local style, eventually becoming very similar to Chancay, the latter style developing out of Huaura (1975:129).

For Lumbreras the *Chancay style* begins with "post-Wari independence and a series of regional variants known as Huaura (or Epigonal)". This is followed by *3-colour geometric*, which eventually gives rise to Chancay black-on-white (1974a:192). Ravines speaks of a local form of the Huaura style at Ancón, followed by the Chancay and Inca cultures (Ravines and Stothert 1976:155). All these authors give the impression that the Huaura style precedes Chancay in time.

The evidence of the figurines helps, I believe, to refine the relative chronology of Huaura and Chancay. But since it is difficult to distinguish between the two styles, especially between what I see as standard Huaura figurines (Huaura 2.1) and early Chancay ones (1.1 to 1.3)¹, I will outline the method leading to my classification:

For the Huaura figurines the starting point were a Huaura figurine and an effigy jar illustrated in Katz (1983:nos.156, 157), with characteristics such as the arms resting on the emphasized genitals, decor of circles on the arms, tear-lines. All these traits occur in Huaura Group 1; they can further be followed through into Huaura Group 2, on figurines acquiring the typical high striped female Huaura head-dress and its male counterpart with *picos*; many of these figurines are also *said* to come from Huaura. The gradual picture emerging is that of a group of figurines with a very large head, fairly squat body, arms folded horizontally at waist, decor of circles or stripes on arms and/or legs, small genital triangle.

For the early Chancay figurines *one* point of departure was a number of figurines already strongly resembling the classic Chancay black-on-white *cuchimilcos*, but still with folded arms and in epigonal-related or 3-colour geometric wares (e.g. 1075, 794 in Chancay 1.1.1 and 1.1.2). *Another* point of departure was a number of figurines with two sets of arms excavated

¹ This difficulty is illustrated when we compare Katz 1983:no.159 (see P38 in Huaura 2.1), assigned to "Coastal Huaura, Huaura style, ca AD700-800", with Kartz 1983:. nos 90, 91 (see P39/P40, Huaura 2.1) assigned to "Chancay, AD 1000-1500". Iconographically these figurines are practically identical, the only difference being the pottery, red and white on orange, versus black and red on cream.

at Ancón (e.g. 225, Chancay 1.2), many also clear predecessors of later Chancay figurines. Observable characteristics (not always *all* present!) are: smaller heads, with a wider, lower or bilobed crown; the head-dress with simple vertical stripes does occur, but there are many other types as well (horizontal ornamental band, perforated brim, etc.); arched eyebrows, elliptic eyes, absence of tear-marks; more elongated body, arms often folded upwards, hands frequently with three fingers, larger genital triangle starting at the waist, horizontal stripes across the legs; absence of males.

Unfortunately these distinctions between Huaura and Chancay figurines can be blurred by stylistic traits belonging to what I see as an Ancón sub-style or -styles (see Introduction to the late Middle Horizon, chapter 9), so that the affiliation to one or the other culture is debatable (cf. especially Chancay 1.1.4).

During the classic Chancay phases—I was unable to establish a proper chronology for Huaura—Chancay becomes the dominant style in the area and more or less takes over Huaura into the Chancay-Huaura sub-style. This is a group of Chancay figurines influenced by Huaura, with a fairly precise set of characteristics (see Chancay-Huaura 1.5.2, Group Characteristics). Nevertheless we also find a number of Huaura figurines, with a strong Chancay resemblance, but less specific distinctive traits; their inclusion amongst Huaura figurines, rather than Chancay, is debatable (see Huaura 2, Discussion).

Some of the best clues for differentiating between the two styles would probably be provided by a closer examination of the wares involved¹. Unfortunately it was not possible to carry out this kind of study.

As far as a relative chronology between the Huaura and Chancay styles is concerned, the following outline can be deduced from the figurines:

The earliest Huaura figurines (see Huaura groups 1, 3, and 4 and the earlier figurines in Huaura 2) certainly precede Chancay. This can be seen in many Middle Horizon features and in the use of a 4-colour epigonal-type ware, later replaced by the 3-colour epigonal-related ware. During the next phase there appears to have been a nearly contemporaneous development of typical Huaura and early Chancay figurines, both associated with (local variants of?) the Epigonal and 3-colour geometric styles and occurring in two marginally overlapping areas: the Huaura style in the Huaura valley and also partly in the Chancay valley, the early Chancay

¹ To my knowledge no significant assemblage from the lower Huaura valley has ever been published. Such an assemblage would probably show up a local pottery, with a coarser ware, rougher surface finish and a more pinky tinge resulting in a "reddish brown-on-pink" pottery style, distinct from Chancay "black-on-white".

style occasionally in the Huaura Valley, but mainly in the Chancay valley, Ancón, the Chillón valley, with a few specimens as far south as the lower Rimac. Evidence for this distribution pattern is:

a) negative: no standard Huaura figurines occur amongst the late MH/early LIP material excavated at Ancón (see Kaulicke 1983), though we find Huaura-related specimens there;

b) the only classic Huaura figurine from a recorded excavation (P41 in Huaura 2.1) comes from Cerro Colorado, Huacho (Ruiz Estrada 1981:9). This figurine is said to be associated with "Chancay material" without specifying whether 3-colour or black-on-white Chancay: this could be yet another example of the lack of differentiation made between the Huaura and Chancay styles.

The relationship and distribution is less clear for the latter phases of both styles: it would appear that Huaura figurines are replaced by what I call the Chancay-Huaura sub-style (see Chancay Group 1.5) both in the Huaura and in the Chancay valley. However some specifically Huaura figurines (especially the coarse, low-fired variety)—distinct from Chancay and from Chancay-Huaura—continue to be produced, perhaps in somewhat marginal areas, till the later part of the LIP (see Huaura 2, chronology).

Unfortunately there are not enough documented provenances to identify local variants. Taking the Huaura and Chancay styles together, specimens from the same site—say Centinella (Huacho), San Isidro de Sayán (Huaura valley), Pisquillo (Chancay)—can be very different and are scattered here throughout the Huaura and Chancay groups. Explanations for this heterogeneity may be:

- the small amount of figurines from any given site;
- that the sites may have had a long occupation;
- that different types could well have been made at the same site;
- that *huaqueros* offer their wares for sale at the better known sites, even though they may have been found elsewhere.

But as a result there is no evidence of localised stylistic variants. Considering the tremendous diversity of the Huaura figurines the impression is that we are dealing with a freer play of the creative imagination, springing perhaps from less dogmatic ritual concepts than in the case of the Chancay figurines?

THE CLASSIFICATION OF HUAURA FIGURINES

The Huaura figurines are the most heterogeneous of the whole collection and practically defy attempts at a proper classification. As the Huaura pottery style itself is not clearly typified, many shared traits are specific for this area of the Central Coast in general, rather than for the Huaura style in particular. Rather than establish a great number of sub-groups, the material has been divided into the largest units possible; within which smaller groupings are outlined:

- Group 1 contains anthropomorphic figurines; it is homogenous both iconographically and probably chronologically.
- Group 2—based on what I see as the standard Huaura figurine—is subdivided into three sub-groups:
 - sub-groups 2.1 with folded arms ;
 - sub-group 2.2 with two sets of arms (double arms) or extended arms;
 - sub-group 2.3—though iconographically also fairly standard—represents a somewhat different pottery tradition, being hand-made in a rather coarse ware or wares. A certain amount of traits shared with Chancay is discernible in all three Huaura 2 sub-groups.
- Group 3 contains Huaura figurines with an elongated cranial deformation.
- Group 4 contains flat, solid figurines (Slabs).

GROUP 1: ANTHROPOMORPHIC HUAURA FIGURINES

Table 15

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.320-321

Plate 15

Sample: 9 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

A fairly homogenous group of figurines, which are either standing or sitting. The face probably represents animal characteristics: it is foreshortened, with circular eyes, large nose, modelled stylized lips and tab ears. Face-paint, including tear-lines, is always present. Fronto-occipital cranial deformation is absent or less pronounced than on other Huaura groups. The body is characterised by long thin arms, mostly detached from the sides and resting on the genitals (female, male, or unspecified). The legs of the standing figurines are short and completely separated, those of the sitting specimens have broad thighs and applied thin lower legs (536, 1017). The chest is often decorated with painted motifs such as chevrons, steps, crosses, squares with diagonal subdivisions and dots, stylized birds; the arms are mostly painted with rows of circles, the legs can be decorated with horizontal lines.

The figurines are mold-made, hollow, with air-holes behind the upper arms. The ware is mostly a 4-colour epigonal type, often with a well polished surface and black, white and purple or red designs on orange.

DISCUSSION

Special features

This type of figurine has been interpreted as an "anthropomorphic feline" (Katz 1983:282), but only the shape of the face with its tab ears and the "spots" on the arms are reminiscent of a feline, whereas essential characteristics such as fangs are absent. The long arms could point to monkeys: monkey figurines occur in the Chancay culture, but they have characteristic monkey heads. This may be the representation of a mythical creature.

The genitals are also unusual, emphasized by the hands framing them. Five specimens appear to be female, having either a prominent *mons Veneris* (761, 119, 660), a slit representing the vulva (1722, perhaps also SAC 399, P36?) or a stylized rendering of the clitoris inside the vulva (659). The two males appear to have small testicles (536 only) and an erect penis (536, 1017). The importance given to sexual characteristics is a specific Huaura trait, as we shall see in other Huaura groups. The representation of the clitoris, rare amongst Peruvian figurines in other areas, becomes quite common on the Central Coast in the Late Horizon.

536 appears to represent two personages, one sitting behind the other: the profile shows the outline of two heads and two pairs of folded legs, (one of them terminating in claws?), whilst frontally we see two pairs of arms, one pair resting on the knees, the other, with long molded fingers, extended towards male genitals with molded testes and erect penis.

Note that this is the first occurrence on a figurine of representing folded legs as long, thin appendages. Antecedents for what later becomes a typical Central Coast Late Intermediate rendering of the legs occur on effigy jars of Paracas Cavernas (Larco 1966: fig.109) or the Lima style (Stumer 1953: fig.15).

Links with other groups

- Circular eyes with small central pupil are common for the late MH (Cats/Birds, see chapter 10, Huaura groups 2, 3, 4 ; they also occur sporadically;
- A line along bridge of the nose is a MH trait shared with Central Coast MH groups (see Early MH Group 3, Supe, some Huaura 2.1, etc.), as well as with late Nasca and North Coast Middle Horizon figurines (Wilson 1988: fig.252 right);
- Facial zoning, with the painted area outlined with a darker or lighter colour, sometimes also forming a stepped edge occur in Supe, Supe/Pachacamac hybrid (1516), Huaura 2.1, 2.3, 4;

- Tear-lines are common during the MH, but as seen here—white lines outlined in black (761) or long white lines on darker grounding (P36, 660)—they are an unusual early form, shared by only four Huaura 2.1 figurines;
- Tab ears with painted parallel lines occur in Supe, Supe/Huaura hybrids, in the earlier part of Huaura 2.1 and some Huaura 2.3, as well more rarely on the North Coast;
- Painted decor on arms, generally circles, sometimes a zigzag motif: Huaura 2.1 and 4, as well as on the North Coast (see fig.20, chapter 8);
- Horizontal stripes across legs: this is a typical MH innovation (see Early MH Group 3) which becomes very common in Huaura 2 and early Chancay.
- A necklace of a single row of large beads (P36, 659): Although necklaces are common in other cultures, this type is very distinctive and makes its first appearance at this point. It is common in Huaura 2 and also occurs in Supe, some of the late MH/early LIP miscellaneous figurines, early Chancay.
- A vertical painted panel, probably representing a textile, painted on the chest or abdomen (1722): Huaura 2.3, Supe, Supe/Huaura hybrids;
- A square headscarf hanging in the back (660): this appears to be the Moche headdress, imported to the Central Coast by the Supe figurines (cf. Supe back type A, chapter 10). It also occurs on Wari-Pachacamac figurines, but there it probably represents a hairstyle, derived from Nasca via Atarco (see 431, Plate 7).
- A collar of pendant triangles (SAC 399): also occurs on Huaura 2.3 (580) and 3 (352); on classic Chancay face-necks it is worn by high-status figures (Schmidt 1929:249 left; Lavalley and Lang 1982:79).

Context

There are no available data. A mythical interpretation of this personage is possible. The "double" representation (536) might be involved in a sexual act. A sexual dimension could also explain the enlarged *mons Veneris* and clitoris of the female specimens.

Although there are numerous realistic representations of males amongst Huaura figurines, sexual activity is not normally depicted on Central Coast pottery. One vessel in the same style as these figurines (Katz 1983: no.157) shows the same personage. The sexual connotations may be due to influences from the North Coast where erotic vessels were common.

Geographic distribution

The site attribution for Supe is reliable, the one for Huacho unverifiable. The similarity with the Huaura pottery style, to a lesser degree with Supe and early Chancay, as well as isolated North Coast elements, may point to a distribution in the northern sector of the Central Coast, between Supe and Chancay.

Chronological position

Katz (1983:282-283) attributes specimens of this group to the Huaura style, dating them to AD 700-800. The well polished orange ware decorated with vivid colours (4-colour, epigonal-related) corresponds to Sawyer's earliest phase of the Huaura style (cf. Sawyer 1975: fig.178). Some design elements, such as the unoutlined white dot, chevrons or "steps" are reminiscent of MH2, though they survive into the later MH phases (Menzel 1964:61). The lack of cranial deformation on some figurines normally occurs in the earlier MH (cf. Wari-Pachacamac figurines). We have also seen traits shared with late MH North Coast groups. The cursive design on 660 is very similar in style to 2014 (Supe), dated by Menzel to MH4, whilst the collar with pendant triangles survives into classic Chancay. The greatest resemblance is with Huaura 2.1 figurines such as 655, 550, 1182, 1195, though these may be slightly later; note also the resemblance of 1722 with Supe figurines. This leads me to assign this group mainly to MH3, extending into MH4.

GROUP 2: STANDARD HUAURA FIGURINES

• SUB-GROUP 2.1: STANDARD HUAURA FIGURINES WITH FOLDED ARMS

Table 16 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.322-324 Plates 15-17

• SUB-GROUP 2.2: STANDARD HUAURA FIGURINES WITH TWO SETS OF ARMS (SG. 2.2.1) OR WITH EXTENDED ARMS (SG. 2.2.2)

Table 17 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.325-327 Plates 17-18

• SUB-GROUP 2.3: STANDARD HUAURA FIGURINES, BUT HAND-MADE IN A COARSE WARE

Table 18 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.327-329 Plate 19

Sample (Sub-groups 2.1, 2.2, 2.3): 117 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Fairly heterogeneous group of medium-sized, standing figurines, with relatively large heads and a marked fronto-occipital cranial deformation. The main characteristic is the depiction of males (35%), besides the more numerous females, occasionally forming couples¹. Apart from the explicit genitals, the sexes are differentiated by their headgear: the females wear a high head-dress with a rounded (more rarely straight) crown, generally decorated with vertical or diagonal stripes, with various filler designs. The male head-dress features two to four *picos*

¹ Couples are indicated in the text by inserting / between their running numbers.

(often broken) and can also be decorated with vertical or horizontal stripes. The facial traits do not aim at realism: the eyes can be circular or elliptic, the nose and mouth vary, the ears are often short tabs. Some form of facial paint is nearly always present (whole face or zoning of the cheeks, sometimes with stepped edges, outline of the chin or the nose, tear-marks, nose-to-chin lines).

The body varies from very squat and stylized to more elongated and naturalistic. The molded arms can be folded over the abdomen or chest (sg 2.1) or extended (sgs. 2.2.2, 2.3); a few figurines have both folded and extended arms (sg 2.2.1). The legs vary considerably in length and can be completely separated or joined along the inside. Many figurines are unstable. In profile the figurines are mostly fairly flat and can lean forwards or backwards.

Body-paint is fairly common, the most characteristic being a painted genital triangle on the females and stripes across the legs, occasionally also circles on the arms and others. Circa 40% wear a necklace; ear-plugs are rare (ca 15%).

Huaura 2.1 and 2.2 figurines are mold-made, sometimes with a hand-made back or hand-made features, such as the male genitals. Often the front and back fit together badly, with visible joins or the bigger front piece, projecting above the back piece at the top. Huaura 2.3 figurines are hand-made. The majority of figurines are hollow, with air-holes in a variety of locations, but mainly behind the upper arms, at the neck or shoulders.

There is a great variety of wares, though the well polished 4- or 3-colour epigonal-derived ware of Group 1 is rare.

The following features distinguish the three sub-groups:

Sub-group 2.1: Figurines with folded arms (63 figurines)

Features generally limited to this group include stepped cheek zoning, double painted nose-to-chin lines, body-paint on the arms (outline, broken-lines-and-dots). Preponderance of features such as circular eyes and necklaces of large, single beads.

Of the three sub-groups 2.1 is the largest (55%) and the most varied, with a core of *standard* specimens, the remaining figurines being predecessors, successors or more distant relations. The typical Huaura female is embodied in 47, with 1184 as the strongest male candidate. However a great number of different groupings are discernible:

- 550 to 1194: mostly very squat, with hands on genitals;
- 795 to 1196: a regional? variant, mainly white and red on terracotta;

- P38 to 140: miscellaneous, many males, often fired at low temperature or unfired;
- P41 to 1884: standard Huaura.
- 790 to SAC 467: Figurines showing a Chancay influence.

Sub-group 2.2: Figurines with two sets of arms or extended arms (27 figurines)

Basically similar to 2.1. but five figurines have two sets of arms (2.2.1), the rest—with two exceptions (1400, SAC 200)¹—have extended arms (2.2.2). Other changes include: the appearance of larger, more naturalistic specimens; the circular eyes and tab ears all but disappear, the nose becomes more naturalistic. There are also changes in the headgear: there are more undecorated headdresses (both female and male) and the male head-dress now has always three *picos*, which are also shorter. Beside the typical necklace of large single beads, we now also see rows of smaller beads. The following groupings are discernible:

- 1063 (2.2.1), SAC 301, SAC 404, SAC 200 to SAC 271 (2.2.2) may belong to a somewhat different tradition (see Discussion);
- SAC 468 to 778: Figurines showing a Chancay influence.

Sub-group 2.3: Hand-made, coarse ware figurines (26 figurines)

The main difference with sgs. 2.1 and 2.2 is that these figurines are hand-made; but their coarseness, surface finish and weight also point to a different tradition. They are somewhat larger, with a smaller head often longer legs. The female headdress is lower, stripes are rarer, some females may not be wearing a head-dress at all; over 30% of the male head-dress has only two long *picos* and 15% four *picos*, as well as the more usual three *picos*. Several figurines wear a wide belt or a painted load on the back, whilst the decor on arms and transversal lines on legs have all but disappeared. No necklace is worn.

Iconographically, this sub-group is fairly heterogeneous, probably representing several marginal traditions, like 606/605 to SAC 097 (note the air-hole between the legs!) and 1904/1905, 798.

DISCUSSION

Special features

140 (2.1) is a *double-faced specimen*, female, with both sides made by the same mold. Such Janus figures are rare and limited to the Middle Horizon on the Central Coast (see discussion under Nievería, chapter 8).

¹ The reasons for including two specimens with folded arms into sg. 2.2.2 are given in the catalogue.

The occurrence of male/female couples is an important Huaura characteristic. The pairs tend to be practically identical, often made of the same mold, with similar measurements and an identical decor, but with some elements (genitals, *picos*) added on the male. Couples are specific to this culture; they survive in the Chancay pottery style, but clearly in a Huaura-derived iconography or even style (see Chancay-Huaura, chapter 13).

Male/female dualism is a fundamental concept in pre-Columbian Peru, not only in a cosmological context, as for instance in the dualism of the sun and the moon (Opperman 1983: 8ff) or of the *Cabrillas*, i.e. Castor and Pollux (Taylor 1974), but also as an organisational principle (Rostworowski 1978: 15ff). However the particularly frequent representation of couples among Huaura figurines can perhaps be linked more specifically with a creation myth indigenous to the Végueta area, north of Huaura. This relates the creation of the first "couple" by the God Pachacamac (Rostworowski 1978:144). It is interesting to note that Pachacamac's role in this myth is a highly negative one, possibly reflecting the relationship between the northern section of the Central Coast and the area south of the Chillón (Rostworowski 1978:145). This antagonism could also explain the lack of contact between the two sections of the Central Coast during the later MH, resulting in very differentiated figurine types and clearly delineated distribution areas.

Another interpretation for the Huaura male/female pair may be the *symbolism of twins*. In a different version of the creation myth—originating in the area of the Cordillera de la Viuda, east of the Huaura Valley—Pachacamac and Pachamama give birth to twins, later to become the Sun and the Moon (Rostworowski 1983:43). Arriaga (1968/1621:205, 214-215), relates that the bodies of twins who died in infancy were preserved as sacred, but also that parents of twins had to do penance for having given birth to an "abomination". Twins were considered to be the sons of the thunder and to be invested with occult powers.

Figurines with two pairs of arms, one pair folded over the chest, the other extended sideways (Huaura 2.2.1) are confined to the Central Coast styles of Huaura and in particular Chancay and may have a religious significance (see Discussion, Chancay 1.2).

A curious feature are *protuberances near the outside corners of the eyes* (cf. 437, 551, 1399, 1884 in 2.1, 1018 in 2.2.2). These are not ear-plugs, as they are far from the ear (e.g. 551) or even occur *with* ear-plugs (e.g. 1018). But they can have a typical ear-plug decor (see 542, Huaura 2.2.1)

Hunchbacks (1723, 1224, Huaura 2.2.2) first occur in the Middle Formative (see 2299, Ancón figurines, sg.1.1, chapter 5); they become relatively numerous amongst Chancay

figurines, in particular Chancay 1¹. In addition 1224, the only sitting Huaura 2 figurine, may be a predecessor of the Chancay witch (Chancay Group 3, see chapter 13).

The associated figurine (542, Huaura 2.2.1) is a taxonomic problem. It has a fairly reliable provenance from Huaura and some Huaura features: the shape of the body, ears with white stripes, a fairly coarse ware, paint applied to the front of the figurine only and disk ear-plugs incongruously placed at the corners of the eyes. The latter feature is quite common in Huaura, though here the decor on the ear-plugs is more typical for Supe and Supe/Huaura hybrids. But 542 also shares some traits with Wari-Pachacamac figurines, especially with 426 (see chapter 8): head lacking deformation, arched eyebrows, white eyeballs with black pupils, strongly modelled cheeks and mouth area, position of hands on abdomen. The sex is not indicated, whereas Huaura figurines wearing a head-dress with *picos* are always male. The Pachacamac figurine also lacks genitals; it wears a typical early Middle Horizon cap, which never occurs on Huaura figurines. Finally the shape of the extended arms, the painted lines and the shape of the hands with their three fingers are quite unique: Huaura or Chancay figurines with double arms have small concave hands or no hands. The place of this figurine within the Central Coast late MH or early LIP remains problematic, because the related Wari-Pachacamac figurine is itself atypical and its Pachacamac provenance uncertain. However, on balance, the figurine fits best into the Huaura sequence.

Links with other groups:

The numerous traits shared with Huaura 1 (see above) show that Huaura 2.1 is a successor of the earlier group. Huaura 2.1 and 2.2.1 are also closely related to early Chancay (Group 1) figurines, with which they share a number of traits (overall shape, posture, even wares). Huaura 2.2.2 and 2.3 are related to the Chancay-Huaura sub-style (Chancay 1.5).

- One striking feature shared with Huaura 1 by some of the earlier Huaura 2.1 figurines (550 to 1195) and by the atypical 197, are the stylized female genitals, with a large vulva and clitoris, often shown with the hands resting on them. But—unlike in Huaura 1—the specimens in 2.1 are clearly human. Gradually—in a temporal sense—the emphasis on the genitals decreases, and the hands move higher up.
- Common Central Coast late MH/early LIP traits include: tear-lines, nose-to-chin lines, painting of the whole face (usually in a darker red), facial zoning, outlining or thickening of the chin.
- The stepped facial zoning (1193, 604, 1184 in 2.1) is shared with Supe and Huaura 1 figurines. 1193 has a Supe type D back. Arms inscribed inside the body outline (e.g., 1182, 655, 551, SAC 272, SAC 368) are also common in Supe.
- Large disk ear-plugs with the plug piercing the ears (609/610 in 2.2.2) occur in Supe. Concave disk earplugs placed at right angles to the head (611 in 2.1, 1018 in 2.2.2

¹ The significance of hunchbacks is discussed in Chancay 1.1, chapter 13.

atypical) are shared by some MH3 hybrids (see 1506, 1055 late MH Group 2, chapter 9).

- An important late MH innovation is the painted and/or incised triangle above the genitals (*genital triangle*). 761 in Huaura 1 has already a painted *mons Veneris*. In Huaura 2.1 the genital triangle only encompasses the pubic area (cf. 795), but in 2.2 it can go as high as the waist (cf. 2181). The genital triangle is also typical for early Chancay and reappears again in late Chancay.
- The atypical 197 (2.1) is related to 859 and 1044 (sub-group 1, miscellaneous figurines, this chapter): overall shape, molded representation of hair in the back, very thin molded left arm (this feature is not visible on the photograph).
- The atypical 1521 (2.1) is the only specimen in this group with a bilobation, shown by a very small indentation at the top of the head, a form frequent in classic Chancay.
- Some figurines in Huaura 2 (1345, SAC 368, SAC 220 in 2.1; 1063, SAC 301, SAC 404, SAC 200 to SAC 271 in 2.2) represent a somewhat different—Chancay related?—tradition, but they have enough Huaura traits to be included here. The main characteristic is a smaller, semi-circular headdress, mostly plain or with a horizontal border (decorated with circles or a step motif); the ears are often nearly circular, instead of tabs. The arms can look as if extended forwards. Huaura traits include the more typical Huaura 3-colour ware (SAC 301, SAC 404 in 2.2.2), vertical stripes on (some) female headdresses, the *picos* on those of the males. These figurines could be related to 1213 (Chancay 1.3.1) with a similar overall appearance and made of an unusual, dark ware. Another Huaura 2.1 figurine, 1345, wears a similar head-dress. As this specimen in turn has North Coast affiliations (see below), it is possible that we see here a Huaura- and Chancay- related sub-style from an area further north, such as Huarmey¹.



Fig. 35

- 1182 and especially 1345 (2.1) have arms linked by a continuous line, painted across the top of the chest. A similar rendering occurs on late MH/Early Chimu specimens like Fig. 35 or Fig. 36.



Fig. 36

- The atypical 64 and 1316 also resemble early Chimu figurines like Fig. 37, but 64 has traces of vertical stripes on its headdress, a Huaura

trait, whilst 1316 was amongst the figurines collected by SS “Donau”, which are all from the Central Coast. However—as with some of the Supe figurines or with the somewhat different tradition described above—we may be dealing here with specimens from areas situated to the north of the Central Coast.

- The male 608 (probably also SAC 249 and SAC 097, all in 2.3) carries an oblong bundle with a criss-cross design painted across his back (not illustrated). This is a common feature on Chancay Group 2 figurines, but the bags there are square, painted with a textile pattern and always carried by women.



Fig. 37

- Another curious feature is the pointed cap on the male (SAC 449 in 2.3) reminiscent of a Chancay-Huaura *Cantor* (cf. 1089, Chancay 1.5.2b).

¹ There is only one recorded figurine from that area (see 556, Supe figurines).

- 606/605 and 608/607 (sg 2.3) have an air-hole between the legs, a rare (Atarco derived?) trait, shared by 1059 (Supe-Huaura hybrids, Chapter 10) and 1516 (see Supe-Pachacamac hybrid, Chapter 10:) and also by early Chimu figurines.

Context

Only one specimen (P41) is known to come from a grave, but judging from Huaura's close relative, Chancay, the figurines must have mainly functioned in a funerary context. However, in the case of male/female couples, the function may transcend the simple explanation of grave attendants or "sacrifice replacement" (see Chapter 17). The size of the male genitals seem to emphasize fertility or survival of the lineage. On the other hand the occult powers of twins (see above) may mean that such couples were placed in graves as protection for or even from the deceased.

As we can only guess at the meaning of figurines with two sets of arms (see Chancay 1.2, Discussion), we cannot speculate about the function of such specimens.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Chillón Valley
Huaura sg. 2.1				
Certain	1			
Fairly reliable	9	1		1
Unverifiable	15		2	
Huaura 2.2				
Certain				
Fairly reliable	2			
Unverifiable	1			
Huaura 2.3				
Certain				
Fairly reliable	11			
Unverifiable	1			

There is little solid evidence for the provenance of this group, except for a definite consensus regarding the Huaura valley, with one certain, 22 fairly reliable and 17 unverifiable provenances. Of the four fairly reliable provenances for other areas, 604 (2.1) from the Chancay Valley is—surprisingly—a typical early Huaura figurine, whilst the one from Marquez (1521) is atypical. As Uhle bought it from *huaqueros* it may come from elsewhere (see Appendix 1).

As far as the Ancón provenances are concerned it is significant that no such figurines were found in controlled excavations at Ancón.

2181, donated by a Miss B. Simmonds, is said to come from Huari. It is a typical Central Coast figurine: the name "Huari" was probably misunderstood for "Huara", an occasional misspelling for Huaura.

Chronology

Huaura 2 is difficult to date. Unlike the Chancay pottery style, where a chronological succession of wares helps to trace other features through time, there are no such points of reference available for Huaura. But since the figurines of both styles are closely linked, dating is attempted with reference to Huaura 1, which is obviously early in the sequence, and to Chancay.

The sub-groups cover a long time span; as a result they partly overlap. No traits seem to be absolute time markers, so that the order within each sub-group is tentative.

The wares provide few chronological clues. It would appear that the well-polished epigonal-derived ware, quite common in Huaura 1, in Huaura 4 (see below) and to a lesser degree in Huaura 2.1, decreases in Huaura 2.2 and 2.3. Nor can the number of colours and their combinations be reliably used for dating (SAC 286/SAC 285, a matching pair in 2.1 are in 4- and 3-colour wares respectively). The position of the air-holes, often a useful time-marker, is inconclusive here, because in sub-groups 2.2.2 and 2.3 as many as 83% and 60% of the figurines respectively either have no air-holes or their location is unrecorded. Nevertheless—as in Chancay—the earlier sub-group 2.1 shows a majority of air-holes at the neck, shoulders or behind the upper arms, whilst in the later sub-group 2.3, air-holes are often at the ears, nose and/or waist.

The following traits are useful for dating—though unlike in Chancay—the correlations are less definite.

- The circular eye, inherited from Huaura 1, is gradually replaced by an elliptic eye.
- The stylized rectangular or rounded nose (in profile) is replaced by a more naturalistic nose with nostrils, sometimes also with *alae*.
- Tab ears, painted white or decorated with horizontal stripes, tend to be replaced by more rounded, even conch-like ears.
- Folded arms (2.1) are replaced by extended arms (2.2.2, 2.3), though not as radically as in Chancay, where this is a very reliable time-marker; the decor of the arms, especially the circles or broken lines gradually disappear. Arms joined by a continuous line (1182, 1315 in 2.1) are a late MH trait on the North Coast.
- Horizontal stripes across the legs are common in both 2.1 and 2.2 as well as in early Chancay, but they disappear in classic Chancay (sometimes reappearing in late Chancay).
- The size of the genital triangle tends to become larger (cf. . 795 or 1196 in 2.1 with 2181 in 2.2.1), but—unlike in Chancay—this is not a definite criterium (f.i. the early SAC 301 in 2.2.2 has a large genital triangle)

- The typical necklace (single row of large beads) disappears or is replaced by several rows of smaller beads, just like in early Chancay (Chancay 1.3.3).

Isolated later features have parallels in classic or even in late Chancay:

- Elbows forming a sharp angle: cf. 778, P42/P43, P44 in 2.2.2; 566, SAC 448/SAC 449 in 2.3 with Chancay 1.4.2.
- Large feet with ankle-bones, spread-out toes, or modelled toenails (cf. P44, 778 in 2.2.2, 586, 566, SAC 448/SAC 449 in 2.3 with Chancay 1.4.2 and 1.4.3)
- A "bridge" linking the feet (e.g. P43 in 2.2.2) is a common LH feature (LH Group 1.1).
- Note that the face-paint does not follow the same development as in Chancay: some obviously late figurines still have the eyes-and-cheek zoning (e.g. SAC 448/SAC 449).

One feature, which—with a larger sample—would probably be a reliable time marker, is the male head-dress, with variables such as the number, shape, spacing and orientation of the *picos*, as well as the decor of the calotte. Using Chancay-Huaura, with changes between early Chancay-Huaura 1.5.1a (epigonal-derived), 1.5.1b (3-colour geometric) and 1.5.2 (black-on-white), but bearing in mind that Chancay-Huaura has a later starting point than Huaura, the following sequence is proposed¹:

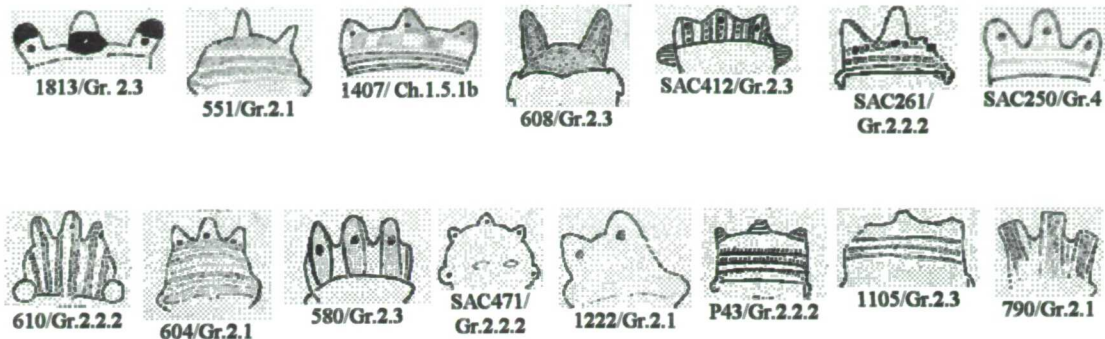
An early form has three markedly diverging *picos* with wide intervals between them. The tips can be rounded (1813* in Huaura 2.3, P47 in Huaura 4) or more conical (551* in Huaura 2.1). The calotte is often very low. A transition to the next stage is represented by 1407* (Chancay-Huaura 1.5.1b) with the early form of *picos* but a higher calotte. Another, probably early, head-dress has two long conical *picos*, with or without a plain calotte (608*, 606/Huaura 2.3, P89 in Chancay-Huaura 1.5.1a).

During the following stage the three *picos* move closer together (SAC 412*/ Huaura 2.3), the low calotte (SAC 261*/Huaura 2.2.2, , SAC 250/Huaura 4)) gradually becomes higher (604*/Huaura 2.1, 610* in Huaura 2.2.2, 580*/ Huaura 2.3).

The end of the Huaura sequence is characterised by two distinct forms: one features generally short, triangular *picos*, often plain, divergent, and attached to no visible headdress (SAC 471* in Huaura 2.2.2), with no parallel in Chancay-Huaura; related to these, but possibly somewhat earlier would be 1222* (2.1) and P44 (2.2.2). The other late form is more closely related to classic black-on-white Chancay-Huaura (1.5.2a): the main characteristic is that the *picos* are truncated, sometimes with air-holes through the tip (P43*/2.2.2; 1105*/2.3,

¹ The shapes illustrated below are marked with *.

perhaps 790* in 2.1 and a large number similar to 156 in Chancay-Huaura 1.5.2a and 1252, 576 in 1.5.2c.



The decor of the head-dress correlates roughly with the suggested sequence: the early 3-*picos* head-dresses have horizontal or regular parallel vertical stripes, whilst on the later ones the vertical stripes have spaces between bunches of vertical stripes. But horizontal stripes can also occur late (e.g.. 1105/Huaura 2.3); note also the horizontal border with broken-line decor below the clusters of vertical stripes on 1884 (Huaura 2.1), which comes late in the intermediate sequence.

One or two specimens do not fit into this correlation between *picos*, shape and decor: 1173/Huaura 2.1 has (early) spaced-out *picos* on a (later) high calotte, which however has a fairly early decor. P43 (Huaura 2.2.2) combines late truncated *picos* with an early decor of horizontal stripes. Other late features (angular elbows, necklace of several rows of small beads, a "bridge" between the feet) show this to be a late specimen.

The position of the perforations (through the body of the *picos* or at their base, as opposed to through the tip) do not appear to correlate with the other features.

Huaura 2 is a very long-lived group:

Sub-group 2.1 appears to start in the late Middle Horizon, as we can see from traits shared with Huaura 1, with Supe, with MH hybrids and with some late MH North Coast figurines. Figurines belonging to the standard core of the group just predate or are contemporaneous with the earliest Chancay (MH4-LIP 1-2, see Chancay chronology), when figurines of the two styles are often difficult to tell apart (e.g. 1803 has a typical Chancay profile). But some 2.1 figurines (roughly 1884 to SAC 467) survive into later phases of the LIP (SAC 467—in spite of folded arms—has facial traits closely related to classic Chancay and may well date to LIP 6 or 7¹. The atypical figurines all belong to the late MH, except SAC 285/SAC 286 which even have

¹ 422, listed at the end of the sequence, belongs to a somewhat different manufacturing tradition. It combines early traits, such as three fingers, with a later overall look.

LH traits such as the lateral appendages of the head-dresses. The location of the air-holes—in the early stages often at the neck or shoulders, then mainly behind the upper arms, as in early Chancay—tallies with the suggested dating.

Sub-group 2.2 lacks a number of the early traits (except SAC 301, SAC 404 and the atypical 1224, with their epigonal-derived ware) and probably starts at the same time as the double- and extended arms figurines appear in Chancay, somewhere around LIP 2/3, continuing into the later part of the LIP with specimens like 778 (see discussion of male head-dress above). Note that the dating of the associated 542—if based on the Wari-Pachacamac connection—could be as early as MH2, though this seems highly improbable.

Sub-group 2.3 may well start during the late MH with the couple with folded arms (1813/P45), but probably dates mainly to LIP 2/3, with later specimens like 546, SAC 448/SAC 449. This dating is based on markers such as the eyes, ranging from circular (raised, raised/incised cf. 1813, 606/605) to elliptic composite (1905/1904, 798), the *picos* of the male head-dress (three, rounded (e.g. 1813), two, long (e.g. 608), short, truncated (546); note also the appearance of air-holes under the armpits or at waist level. But this dating may well be too early: 579, with several early features, has a profile very similar to classic Chancay, which dates to LIP 5 and later. And some figurines like SAC 465, 1756, 1298, with their flat crown and lack of head-dress are reminiscent of Late Horizon figurines. Altogether the dating of this sub-group is uncertain.

GROUP 3: HUAURA FIGURINES WITH ELONGATED HEAD

Table 19

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.329-330

Plate 20

Sample: 6 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Middle-sized figurines with an elongated head, representing the cranial *deformación por llautu*. Facial traits and face-paint vary. All except one specimen are standing, with arms which can be folded or extended downwards towards the genital area. Three, possibly four, figurines are female, with a genital triangle or naturalistic vulva, the remaining two have their genitals covered by clothing. All the specimens wear a conical head-dress, most wear a necklace, predominantly of large beads, molded or painted.

All the figurines are mold-made, hollow, with air-holes at the neck or behind the upper arms. The ware is 3-colour, mainly epigonal-derived.

DISCUSSION

Special features

Apart from two figurines among the anthropomorphic cats (Chapter 10, group 6), Huaura 3 is the first Central Coast group to feature the elongated cranial deformation *por llautu*. This is a deformation used in the Sierra, which becomes more common amongst Chancay figurines (see Discussion Chancay 2, Chapter 13). However the Huaura figurines with elongated head do not carry a bundle or child on their backs as Chancay figurines with the same deformation do.

The applied mouth in the shape of a flower (851) is unique; as is the decor of the headdress at the back of 352.

Links with other groups

Huaura 3 has many Huaura 1 features: modelling around the mouth (cf. 851, 1925 with 536); thin, folded legs (cf. 851 with 536); elements of the decor, like the step decor, stylized birds (cf. 851, SAC 443 with 761, 660); hands placed on the genitals, shape of the genitals (cf. 352 with several Huaura 1 figurines); collar of pendant triangles (cf. 352 with SAC 399).

The overall aspect, especially of 1285, 1186 is reminiscent of Huaura 2.1. Amongst Huaura 4 figurines the atypical 2038 also has an elongated head, with a molded edge to the head-dress. The back of 1285, with its bulky head-dress or hair-style has a parallel in 859 (Unaffiliated Figurines Gr.1, this chapter). The cranial deformation is a link with Chancay 2.

Context: No data.

Geographic distribution:

The only site attribution ("fairly reliable") is for Pachacamac, but since no similar figurine comes from a documented context at that site it is unlikely¹. The similarity with Huaura 1 and 2 figurines from the Huaura valley, suggests that these specimens come from the same area.

Chronology:

The links with Huaura 1 (see above) point to the late Middle Horizon. 851 (and SAC 443, not examined) have also many early features (decor of the clothing, head-dress with horizontal stripes, ware, including the "bird's feet" design, a pattern very common in early Chancay).

¹ In spite of generally fairly reliable ratings in the Gretzer/van den Zypen collection, most of the Pachacamac provenances seem unlikely (see Appendix 2).

Other traits such as the mainly horizontal stripes on the headdress (see Huaaura 2), hands with three fingers, arms folded upwards (see Chancay 1.1) show that this group survives into the early LIP.

The ware, which best corresponds to Sawyer's (1975:123) description of the Huaaura style and the predominance of air-holes at the neck also argue for a date between MH3/4 and LIP 1/2.

GROUP 4: FLAT, SOLID HUAURA FIGURINES ("SLABS")

Table 20

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.330-332

Plate 20

Sample: 27 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Highly stylized, medium-sized figurines with an extremely flat profile¹. The head is generally trapezoidal or rectangular in shape, two figurines show bilobation. Face-paint (mainly zoning and/or tear-lines is nearly always present. The eyes are circular or elliptic, the nose often exceptionally large, the mouth straight, ears are rare. The body, mostly with angular shoulders, has slightly tapering or straight sides. At first arms are not represented, later they are folded (painted or applied), finally extended. The legs are generally short, completely separated (note the wide crotch on P47/P48, 1206), with or without feet. Six specimens are sexless, 16 are women, six are men; there are five couples. Only half of the females wear a head-dress (one of them exceptionally with 3-*picos*), the males wear a 3-*picos* headdress. Body-paint and/or clothing, with a variety of designs, is nearly always present; necklaces, ear-plugs are rare.

The figurines are hand-made and solid. The wares and surface finish vary.

The group lacks cohesion and although this can be partly explained by changes through time, it is not certain that all the figurines are definitely related to the Huaaura style. Specimens like 162 and 878—the latter possibly from Ancón grave T. 463, associated with 877 (see Unaffiliated Group 1, below)—could belong to a local Ancón style. But the overall aspect being rather Huaaura-like, and in order to avoid excessive fragmentation, such figurines have been included here.

¹ The measurements of the thickness are misleading because they include projections such as feet and nose.

The associated figurine (2103) has a totally different type of ware and decor, but shares many of the above characteristics. In spite of its singularity I am convinced that this figurine is genuine. Its owner sees it as a Paracas specimen, probably because of the resinous (?) red and black paint, but its shape and many traits link it to the Central Coast.

DISCUSSION

Links with other groups

Arguably these hand-made figurines could be part of Huaura 2.3 (see above). However the distinctive shape, the occasional absence of arms and the decor of the earlier specimens (692 to 1206) suggest that we might be dealing with a different concept or personage, also expressed in the late MH Group 6 (Cats). Over a period the original significance of this personage (?) may have been lost, hence the less stylized, more naturalistic later specimens in the group. The following traits are shared with other groups:

Earlier traits:

- The pointed shoulders and absence of arms, the large central panel on 692, have parallels in late Lima Nascoïd figurines (chapter 7) and late Nasca.
- Feet sloping upwards at the back (1846, 1206) and perforations below the shoulders occur in early MH Group 3 (chapter 8).
- A very wide, straight crotch, resulting in an unusually large gap between the legs (P47/P48, 1206) also occurs on 1219 in the late MH Group 2 (chapter 9).
- 162: features parallel lines on the back, an unusual feature on the Central Coast, but typical for North Coast Santa figurines (early MH) and early Ica/Chincha figurines (late MH/early LIP). 162 also has raised eyes very similar to those of a face-neck jar from Ancón 1, grave 539 (Ravines 1981:121, no.7333), dated to the late MH.

Later traits:

- *Huaura traits* (especially Huaura 1 and early specimens in Huaura 2.3): Facial zoning, often outlined with a contrasting line or overall darker painting of the face, tear-lines, circular eyes, line along the bridge of the nose, circles or dots on the arms, small genital triangle, male/female pairs, female head-dress with vertical stripes, 3-*picos* male head-dress; epigonal-derived ware.
- *Traits shared with late MH Group 6 (Cats)*: Overall shape with wide pointed shoulders; perforations through chest.
- The absence of arms also recalls some late MH/early LIP figurines from the Rimac and Lurin valleys (chapter 12).
- *Traits shared with early Chancay*: Body decorated with small overall designs, designs such as "bird-foot" (1336) and "composite cross" (2047).

Context

No data, except possibly for 878 (see below, Chronology).

Geographic Distribution

There are only two fairly reliable provenances, one each for the Huaura and Chancay Valleys. The Lambayeque provenance is probably incorrect (see Appendix 1).

• Chronology:

There are no gravelots to help date this group, except for 878. This figurine may be P.6485¹ from Ancón 1, T.463, a grave which dates to MH4-LIP1/2². Another similar bilobed figurine with arms folded upwards (but sitting, with lateral perforations (hollow ?)), from Ancón 1 grave 407 (Fig.38) is associated with a late MH tumbler (P.5692), a bowl decorated with black and red "composite crosses" on a cream background (P.5694), similar to Strong 1925:Pl.43 1, and a large red ware jar with a monkey figure at the neck (P.5691), the latter both dating to LIP 1-3. Bilobed figurines, though somewhat different, become more numerous in early Chancay.

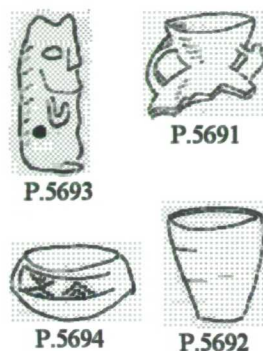


Fig.38

In the absence of precise data it is the stylistic traits shared with late Middle Horizon groups and with early Huaura and Chancay (see above), as well as the similarities of wares (for instance between 692 and 761/Huaura 1) and designs, which date part of this group (692 to 2310) to the end of the Middle Horizon. Similarities with late Lima and early MH Group 3 show a certain archaizing aspect of this group, rather than an earlier date. Gradual changes—overall shape, addition of applied or extended arms, an evolution in the 3-*picos* head-dress (cf. P47 with SAC 252 and see Huaura 2, chronology)—lead into the early phases of the LIP (1-3); 765 could be even later (LIP 4, 5?).

CONCLUSION

The Huaura figurines are a heterogenous assemblage, which present many classificatory problems. There is a certain iconographic cohesion showing medium-sized specimens, both male and female, often occurring in male/female couples and wearing sex-specific, fairly characteristic headgear. Stylistically however we can distinguish between various strands, which may be regional as well as chronological.

Whilst the appearance of the figurines undoubtedly dates to the end of the Middle Horizon, with mold-made figurines produced in high quality epigonal-related wares, the subsequent stages are less easy to date. Early on we also see figurines which are hand-made, in a much more rustic ware, which—although also epigonal-derived in the variety of colours used—has an

¹ The sketch and description tally, but the measurements are given as 20cmx 9cm, instead of 13.2x8.4

² See Chronology for 877 in Unaffiliated Figurines sg.5.3, this chapter, and Gravelot T.463, App.3.

unpolished surface and is often fired at low temperatures. This ware becomes typical in the subsequent phase (or phases) and may well survive till the end of the LIP, without important iconographic changes to indicate a time depth.

Added to this possible longevity there are two other phenomenons which blurr the chronological issue: one is the influence of the Ancón sub-style, the other is the emergence of the Chancay-Huaura variant, translating Huaura iconography into the Chancay pottery style, a variant which appears to co-exist both with the classic Chancay style and, probably, with late survivors of the typical Huaura pottery. What we urgently need are controled assemblages from the Huaura valley (and areas to the North?) and a much better taxonomy for both the Huaura and Chancay pottery style or styles, into which to fit the relevant figurines.

UNAFFILIATED FIGURINES OF THE LATE MIDDLE HORIZON AND THE EARLY PART OF THE LATE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

GROUP 1: FIGURINES RELATED TO THE ANCÓN SUB-STYLE OR STYLES

Table 21 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 333-334 Plate 21

Sample: 14 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

The figurines described here are grouped together on the strength of their stylistic affiliation to features related to the Ancón sub-styles (see Chapter 9, Introduction). Their main common characteristic are many press-molded features. The figurines have mostly straight bodies, but of very different proportions. The head can be rounded, bilobed or elongated, with a variety of features. Arms are generally folded upwards, less often at the waist. Legs can be joined, very short or longer, separated. Nine figurines represent females, four possibly males, one has no sex. Several figurines show press-molded hair at the back.

The figurines are mold-made, hollow with air-holes behind the upper arms or at the waist. Wares are 3-colour (black, white, red), bichrome (red on white) or monochrome, much of the decor is press-molded.

DISCUSSION

Special features

1710, 1711 and 1054 (sg 5.1) may represent a mythical or legendary personage, characterised by a scarified face, an atrophied left arm and unusual genitals. A hare-lip or some other malformation may be indicated on 1054. Note also the lack of fronto-occipital deformation. According to Cieza and Garcilaso (quoted by Cabieses 1974: II,199) scarification for ritual or esthetic purposes was carefully performed with flint points.

The atrophied left arm— 87 which lacks the scars, also has an atrophied right arm—is folded upwards on 1710, 1711 and 87, but hanging down lifeless (the effect of a stroke?) on 1054; it always has only three fingers. This not uncommon trait is thought to imply a bird-related symbolism, an interpretation difficult to apply in this case. The protuberance in the genital area could be an erect penis, but such a rendering is unique. It is impossible to explain the nature of these personages.

876 and 1051 have less clear mythical connotations, though the very pronounced bilobation and the exaggeratedly long arms, folded upwards in an unusual way, may also indicate a specific, possibly folkloric, personage.

1044 has two pairs of folded arms, as opposed to the common folded/extended combination (see Huaura 2.2.1 and Chancay 1.2). Curiously, on 1044, the arms start in the middle of the body, under the chin and are folded upwards and outwards. The hands only have three fingers. This specimen may also have a craneal deformation *por llautu*.

2201 (sg 5.3) is a double-faced female figure, front and back, made with the same mold, a personage not uncommon in the MH of the Central Coast (see Discussion under Nievería, Chapter 8, Group 1).

Links with other groups

Tear-lines and a thickened or outlined chin are widely distributed late MH/early LIP traits. The molded hair or earplugs at the back (1054, 876, 1051, 504) resemble Supe backs (type A3, A4, variant e).

The main link is with Huaura figurines: crude ware and molding, stripy head-dress with flattened edge (1710, 1711), single strand of large beads. Note also the resemblance of the horizontal stripes on the head-dress of 1044 with 851 (Huaura 3), though here the stripes are molded, there painted. The thick coil (part of the hairstyle) of 859 and 877 also features on 1285 (Huaura 3). Some of these traits also appear in early Chancay, but a more typical link with early Chancay are the arms folded upwards (though not abnormally long as here), hands with three fingers and the bilobation of 876 and 1051 (cf 866, 1344 in Chancay sg 1.1.4). 877 represents a border-line case between Huaura and early Chancay.

The feature on the back of 1044 could represent a bag. This would be a link with Chancay 2 figurines with elongated head, who nearly always carry a load (sometimes a child) on their back. Huaura figurines with elongated head (Huaura 3) do not have this feature.

Context

Four figurines are known to come from graves, at least three of them contained infant burials (see Appendix 3. Interestingly two of these (graves T.405 and T.718) contained reeds, stopped with wool and filled with paint.

Geographic Distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Others
Certain			4	
Fairly reliable	2	1		1 (Rimac V.)
Unverifiable		2		1 (Lurín V.)

All the certain provenances are from Ancón, but the group is more widely distributed, which explains some Huara- and Chancay-related features. The Pachacamac provenance is unlikely.

Chronology

Both 1044 and 859 can be dated to late MH4 on account of the press-molded monochrome pottery (Menzel 1977:47).

877 a border-line case between Huaura and early Chancay, is part of a large gravelot (Ancón 1-T.463), containing 16 vessels, many of them miniature. Two tumblers (P.6481, P.6492) with black geometric designs on red are typical of the late MH epigonal-related ware; a red ware vessel (P.6472) said to have *decoración estampada estilo Pativilca*¹¹ must be press-molded and date to MH4; others, like P.6474 with a cream slip, already resemble early Chancay forms and could date to LIP 1-2. Note also a figurine (P.6483) with air-holes at the waist, also more common during the LIP; one other associated figurine strongly resembles 878 (Huaura 4) but the measurements do not tally. Figurines like 876 to 1054, with press-molded features, but some resemblance with both Huaura and early Chancay also fit into the time span MH4-LIP 1-2.

GROUP 2: HUAURA (OR CHANCAY?)-RELATED SPECIALS

Table 22

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp. 334-336

Plate 22

Sample: 10 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Heterogenous group of fairly large female figurines with folded or extended arms, completely separated legs and a large painted genital triangle. The crown of the head is generally straight and shows a marked fronto-occipital deformation in profile. Face-paint (eye- and cheek zoning with contrasting outline) is nearly always present. A headdress—mostly with vertical stripes—and clothing is generally worn.

Judging mainly from the pottery there are at least three sub-styles: P52, 1070 and the atypical 137 have a dark red or brown grounding with a decor of horizontal stripes with fillers such as unoutlined white circles with central dot. Other specimens have an orange or terracotta grounding with a central vertical panel (a textile border), with a criss-cross or broken line

¹ Not visible on the drawing.

design. Finally the black-on-white figurines are made of the typical Chancay pottery (though with a reddish tonality, more often associated with the Chancay-Huaura sub-style).

The group lacks cohesion. I suspect that several specimens (678 to SAC 413) originate from regions marginally outside the main study area. The remaining figurines, including the associated 137, are more specifically Huaura- and Chancay-related—sharing characteristics common to *both* groups which—but without fitting the parameters of any of the established groups..

DISCUSSION

These figurines, related to both Huaura and Chancay—but marginally closer to Huaura—probably represent a local tradition (or traditions) originating in areas marginal to both (see below Geographic distribution). The following traits are shared with:

- Huaura: Head-dress with vertical stripes (especially stripes of alternating colours or plain stripes alternating with rows of dots); painted white line around the neck. With Huaura 4 in particular: wide square shoulders; wide crotch (678, 784). The atypical 137 could also have been listed under Huaura 4, except that it is hollow.
- Huaura and early Chancay: eye-and-cheek zoning with contrasting diagonal outline; horizontal lines across the legs; vertical band, imitating a textile, with broken line or criss-cross designs (the latter trait also occurring in Supe).
- Early Chancay (though it also occurs sporadically in Huaura): “Bird-Foot” motif (2248), composite-cross motif (1070), all over dots (784); pendant breasts (1087) and rendering of the toes (784): cf in particular 674 (Chancay 1.3.1).
- Later Chancay (1.4, 1.6, 4): Two broad lines dividing the headdress into three sections (P 52) occurs on P86 (Chancay 1.4.3) and may be related to the “attendants” (Chancay Type 4); headdress perforations in sets of two (cf especially Chancay 1.6); ankle-bones and a punctated necklace (784) are very common in late Chancay (1.4, 1.6).
- The associated 137 shares traits with Huaura generally, and in particular with Huaura 4, though it is not as flat, being actually hollow. But it also shows strong Ancón features like the “claw” feet or the bilobation(cf. Supe-Huaura hybrids, chapter 10; and Unaffiliated Group 1, above)

Context: No data.

Geographic distribution

Two unverifiable provenances are for the Huaura valley. The Galerie Ketterer Catalogue (1991: no.357) specifies: “The *huaqueros* have not, as yet, revealed the provenance of this type [of figurine]. It probably originates in a triangle between Huaura, the Haunaco (sic!) province and the Chancay valley” (my translation).

The unverifiable Chincha provenance is somewhat doubtful, but since this is a rather unusual figurine it cannot be dismissed out of hand (see also Chancay 1.3, Geographic distribution).

Altogether we might be dealing here with several specimens (678 to SAC 413) from regions marginally outside the main study area. The remaining figurines are more specifically Huaura and Chancay-related, though they do not fit into any of the groups.

Chronology

The ware-types and decorative elements (see above) date this group from the end of the MH to the early phases of the LIP (1-3/4?). This includes black-on-white, which can occur at the end of this time span.

However, there are several anomalies: the earlier Huaura or Chancay head-dress tends to have a rounded crown, whereas here it is straight (except on 678); the paired perforations at the corners of the head-dress (P 52, 2247, 2248, 677) are generally a late Chancay feature. Furthermore—contrary to Huaura and especially Chancay figurines—there is no discernable time difference between specimens with folded or extended arms: P 52 and 1070 appear to be contemporary since they are both made in a typical 3-colour epigonal-derived ware.

GROUP 3: MISCELLANEOUS UNAFFILIATED FIGURINES

Table 23

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.336-337

Plate 22

Sample: 8 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

The figurines in this group show isolated similarities with Central Coast groups of the period, with some specimens being very unusual, whilst others are more clearly related. Each figurine is discussed separately.

DISCUSSION

1821: Although the overall look and the manufacture are unusual (but see 242 below), traits such as bilobation, large disk ear-plugs, folded arms are compatible with the late MH on the Central Coast. The provenance from Ancón is unverifiable.

242: From the Reiss and Stübel excavations at Ancón. Also an unusual specimen. The applied coffee-bean eyes occur on 1902, 98 (below). The profile, reminiscent of early Nasca figurines,

also occurs on the early Chancay-related 1847 (Chancay 6). The "rectangular" nose occurs in Supe and Huaura. Arms lifted towards the head feature on 877 (Unaffiliated Group 1, above), on contemporary figurines mainly from the lower Rimac valley (P53, 1534, 1427 in "Punch", chapter 12), also on 854 below. All these specimens date to the end of the MH or the early LIP, also a likely date for this figurine.

1902: No provenance, some similarity (eyes, nose) with 242 (above), probably of the same date. The alternative to include it into Chancay 6 has been rejected, because of the different eyes and the folded arms.

98: has a number of unique features: an extremely long face with well modelled jaw-bones, a huge, naturalistic nose, thick applied lips, a very narrow body. Figurines standing on a base are typical for Supe, but a cylindrical cross-section is rare. The elongated head does occur both in Huaura and Chancay but never—as here—without a headdress. Note also that the figurine, though hand-made and solid, shows vertical joins, as if imitating a mold-made version.

The figurine is said by Wiener (1880:652) to be part of a gravelot from Ancón, also containing a Chancay *cuchimilco* and a wooden figure wrapped in clothing. Wiener's data are unreliable (see Appendix 1) probably also in this case, because the figurine would be totally atypical for the classic or late Chancay phase to which the associated *cuchimilco* belongs. The *cuchimilco* is unusual itself, being of the classic black-on-white type, but with folded arms (or possibly without arms, the illustration is not clear). It has four head-dress perforations in sets of two which is usually—though not always—a late Chancay feature. The wooden figurine and its textile wrapping are undiagnostic for dating purposes.

As the figurine bears a remote resemblance with LIP figurines from Tantamayo, Dept of Huanuco (see Fig.39) it might not come from the Central Coast at all: it is included here because of its alleged provenance. However, as far as the date is concerned—and by reference to the whole of the Peruvian figurine material—a late MH/early LIP date is likely to be correct.



Fig. 39

564: Unique specimen with a fairly reliable provenance from Lauri, Chancay.

The bulging eyes, "rectangular" nose, nose-to-chin lines, tab ears with parallel incisions, occur in various contemporary figurines, mainly Huaura, but the shape is unique. The black ware recalls late MH Group 6 ("Cats"); black ware reappears in classic and late Chancay, but often with white incrustations, not present here. 564 is tentatively dated to late MH/early LIP.

854: Seated figurine, allegedly from Huacho. The bent tip to the elongated head is unusual (see profile), but the raised arms link it with various late MH Central Coast figurines (see above 242); the stylized folded legs also appear on figurines during the late MH (see 536 /Huaura 1, 851/Huaura 3) but become more common later (Chancay 2, 3). On the other hand the modelling and detail is so unusual, that the figurine could belong to any date. The traces of turquoise pigment, rubbed into folds and incisions, makes one wonder whether this specimen was meant to imitate a metal figurine and whether it is genuine?

1296: shows an unusually pronounced bilobation, with large flap ears and separate legs, features which occur in a small but well defined late MH/early Chimu group (see Fig.40: SRB n/n). However the bilobation and ears are somewhat smaller and the lack of painted decor, the circular eyes (raised and incised, very similar to 605/606 in Huaura 2.3), the incised genital triangle do not fit into that group. Another somewhat similar figurine is P62 (Chancay 1.3.3, chapter 13). So 1296 (without provenance) may come from an area to the north of the Central Coast or it may simply be a one-off; a late MH/early LIP date is likely.



Fig. 40

153: This hunchback lacks the usual fronto-occipital deformation and has a long narrow face with unusual modelled eyebrows. Nevertheless the overall aspect is Central Coast and hunchbacks are quite common in the Chancay culture. The date can be anything from the late MH to the Late Horizon, though long rectangular ears are a MH feature (of southern origin), and the air-holes behind the upper arms are also common for the late MH/early LIP.

Although one or two figurines, like 242 or 564, are definitely original local creations, others may come from locations outside but adjoining the study area.

CHAPTER 12

THE FIGURINES OF THE LATE MIDDLE HORIZON AND EARLY PART OF THE LATE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD - PART II: FIGURINES FROM THE RIMAC AND LURÍN VALLEYS

INTRODUCTION

As we have seen, the latter part of the Middle Horizon leads to a clear separation in figurine groups and their distribution between the Huaura, Chancay and Ancón section and the Rimac and Lurín section of the Central Coast. As for the Chillón valley this period is badly documented and it is possible that some specimens which fit uneasily into established groups come from there. However, in view of the later development, it is more likely that any material of this period from the Chillón valley is related to the northern sector.

In the southern sector there is only one clearly defined group for this period. I have named it “Punch” because of the resemblance with the *Comedia del Arte* character. It shows a distant relationship with its contemporary, the standard Huaura figurine. Like it, Punch is medium-sized, standing, with folded or extended arms, and wearing a head-dress, consisting of a calotte with painted decor, often of parallel stripes. But here the resemblance ends and the overall look (shape and relative proportions of the head, body, legs) is quite different. There is no difficulty at all in distinguishing between these groups.

Beside this group, the earliest figurines of the Ichma style also probably appear at this time. This style, also known as Huancho style, is the contemporary of Chancay in the Rimac and Lurín valleys. Like Chancay it starts at the end of the Middle Horizon and survives into the Late Horizon. The Ichma figurines are studied in chapter 14.

THE "PUNCH" FIGURINES

Table 24

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 338-339

Plate 23

Sample: 30 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Fairly homogenous group of medium-sized, standing figurines with a large head on a rather squat body. The features can be roughly rendered, with traces of a blunt instrument used for modelling. Arms can be folded, extended forward, also upwards to the ears, or not shown. The stocky cylindrical legs taper towards near-circular feet. About 50 % of the figurines show female genitals, with a raised or incised genital triangle, but all are probably female because of similar clothing. This consists of a head-dress with painted decor and mostly of a broad painted collar; five specimens wear a shirt; the majority also have painted features in the back (pendant triangles or parallel lines on the head-dress, back of the collar or parallel bands on the body.).

Within the group one can distinguish two different types, though the dividing-line is not clear-cut enough to create sub-groups:

- *Type a* (1020 to 505): broader, with a lower head and a more rounded lateral body outline. Note also the rounded corners of the head-dress, with decorative designs such as wide broken lines, etc., the rough modelling of the facial features, elliptic eyes, ears decorated with dots;
- *Type b* (1524 to 427): more elongated, with a taller, more angular head-dress and straighter body, often circular eyes, small ears, plain or with parallel stripes, stripy or criss-cross head-dress decor.

The different characteristics do not seem to be linked to a given area, for instance types a and b both appear at Pachacamac (cf. 1517 with 1480).

The remaining specimens cannot be assigned to either type; some are quite different in shape, but share decorative elements with this group.

DISCUSSION



Fig. 41

There can be little doubt that this figurine represents a mythical personage or deity of some standing, since the same personage, but with a wider, more important head-dress than on the figurines, is also shown on a number of face-necks from Pachacamac (Uhle 1903: Pl.7, fig.3), from Huallamarca (see Fig.41: Museo de Sitio,



Fig. 42

Huaca Huallamarca, no.? and several other fragments now at MCP, including Fig.42, a personage with the typical Punch colarette carrying a llama) as well as many of unrecorded provenance (Figs.43, 44). These could simply be seen as representations of a high-ranking personage. But one vessel from Pachacamac (see



Fig. 43

Schmidt 1929: 261), shows the same personage with the body of an animal (bird-like, but with massive feet!), definitely showing a mythical connotation. Note also the elaborate ears on two vessels (Uhle and Schmidt above), which are obviously mythical in Menzel's (1977: 61) sense. Interestingly the unique modelling technique used on type a figurine faces—showing rough broad strokes—also appears on some of the face-necks.



Fig. 44

There are no antecedents of this figurine type at Pachacamac: earlier types (see Early MH Gr.4, Chapter 8; Late MH Gr.1, chapter 9) are very different in shape and feel. The similarity with standard Huaura figurines, especially the shape and decor of the head-dress, could just reflect a similar costume worn by contemporary ethnic groups.

Special features

The tear-lines in this group are unusual, often only consisting of a thin diagonal line, starting from the inner corner of the eye ¹.

35, 433 and 353 have two lugs folded towards the back of the head. These are different from the lugs characteristic for the Chancay witch (Chancay group 3), which are placed on the top of the head.

Links with other groups

The stripy head-dress of type b figurines is similar to that of the roughly contemporary Huaura 2 figurines, but only the rather unusual 433 has a stronger Huaura feel (head-dress, facial zoning and painted nose-to-chin lines). But the typical collar motif and the painted back, as well as its provenance from Pachacamac, warrant its inclusion into this group. Note also the flap ears with parallel stripes (1480, 161, not visible on photographs), common in Huaura.

1545 is a flat, slab-like specimen, related to Huaura 4, but with a decor typical for this group.

427 wears a series of concentric necklaces which also appear on MH3 South Coast face-necks (e.g. Gayton and Kroeber 1927: Pl.19A).

¹ This feature is difficult to see on the photographs.

The unusual head-dress of 2216 has a painted decor at the top, (white cross within black circle, see Fig. 45). A somewhat similar design can be seen on Huari Norteño figurines and South/Central Highland figurines¹ of the early Middle Horizon



Fig. 45

Stripes in the back are common on Huari Norteño and early Ica/Chincha figurines.

449, attached to a funerary cane litter and with an undeformed head, is related to Wari-Pachacamac figurines. But it shares the circular eyes, painted arms folded upward, overall shape, painted collar with black lines and the stripy head-dress with this group.

Context

Although only three figurines from Maranga have documented gravelots, the majority of the other figurines must also come from graves at Pachacamac (Uhle's Gravefield I, Bandelier's excavations), at Huallamarca, etc. (see below). At Maranga one figurine (P 53) was found with the burial of a youth—two further similar figurines were found inside the mummy bundle—, another (P54) was associated with one or two infants, the third (1584) with an undescribed mummy (see Appendix 3).

Geographic distribution:

Provenance	Rimac Valley	Lurín Valley
Certain	5	7
Fairly reliable	2	10
Unverifiable		2

This group is one of the best documented of the whole study. It shows a very limited distribution area, also confirmed by the related face-necks. The figurines come from three large ceremonial sites, re-used as cemeteries, in the Rimac valley: Maranga, Huallamarca, (see Appendix 2) and Vista Alegre (situated on the left bank of the Rimac, near Puruchuco; its main pyramid is known as Catalina Huanca); and from Pachacamac in the Lurín Valley (see Appendix 2).

Chronology

There are some contradictory elements to take into consideration. The few gravelots and some of the decorative elements point to MH2B or early MH3, but the provenance from Gravefield I at Pachacamac (see Appendix 2) and data from Huallamarca (see below), as well as some stylistic elements point to the late Middle Horizon or early Late Intermediate.

¹ Huari Norteño, see MAL 961; South-Central Highlands figurine see PC2M.

A. Gravelots:

P53 from Burial XLII at Huaca III, Maranga (see Appendix 2) is associated with two other similar figurines (not illustrated) and several vessels only two of which are illustrated (Jijón y Caamaño 1949: figs.30 and 31). The photographic quality makes identification difficult. No sizes are given. Jijón's Fig. 30 is a spherical jar with a short conical neck and two vertical strap handles at mid-height. The decor is polychrome, with light and dark red, grey, black and dirty white on an orange background; it consists of four birds on the upper half and a step decor below. Jijón compares the ware to "Camarquilla" (i.e. Nievería) and assigns the vessel to Kroeber's "Middle Cañete" (from the Cerro de Oro site). These similarities (the one with the Cañete pottery is doubtful) would yield an early MH phase (MH1B, according to Menzel 1964: 33-35). The other vessel (Jijón y Caamaño 1949: fig.31) consists of two superimposed spherical jars, with a flaring neck and strap handles, a shape difficult to place chronologically. There is an "octopus" design on the upper half and broken lines with filler dots on the lower body, in cream, black, red, violet on orange. The upper design is not clearly visible on the picture, but sounds like a MH2 design; the lower design is a 3-colour geometric design, dating to MH4 - LIP 1-2. In fact Jijón regards the figurine from this burial as Chancay 3-colour, which it definitely is not.

P54 (Jijón y Caamaño 1949: fig.38) looks similar to P53 and is said to have a *decoración de triangulos blanca, negra y roja en la espalda* (p.312), typical for this group. It is associated with one vessel (not illustrated).

According to Jijón y Caamaño (1949: 312-313) both burials belong to construction phase IV of Huaca III at Maranga, which includes 23% of Chancay 3-colour geometric. This correlates well with the time span I suggest for this figurine group.

1584, excavated by Kroeber at his Huaca 15 at Maranga/Aramburu (see Appendix 2) is not associated with any vessel (see Gravelot), but Kroeber's catalogue entry (MS, p.20: "with Mummies 15-S-6") suggests that this burial is part of what he calls "Late period burials". These post-date his Proto-Lima, which includes late EIP (Lima) and early MH (Nievería) strata (Kroeber 1954:33, note 2).

Bandelier's figurine from Pachacamac (1427) has no documented context.

2215 and 2216 are said to come from a late MH-early LIP reutilization of Huallamarca as a cemetery (C. Valladolid, personal communication; see also Willay 39/40:16).

As usual the most useful data come from Uhle's excavations at Pachacamac. In the UPMP catalogue Uhle writes: "Nos. 26958-26962 (my numbers 1517, 1480, 1524, 1614, 1468) are all clay dolls from

Gravefield I, except 26961 (my 1614), probably obtained at San Pedro, Lurín V. and sent to Field Museum". As far as ascertained Uhle gives no gravelots, possibly because of the disturbed state of the cemetery. The material from this area is called by Uhle "Later Pre-Inca" and dates from MH4 and the LIP (see Appendix 2 and Menzel 1964:54). Unfortunately it is impossible to say which phases of the LIP are involved. The pottery illustrated by Uhle as "Later Pre-Inca" (1903: Pl.7, figs. 1-9 and Pl. 8) includes some later LIP specimens (Pl.8, figs 5, 7, 8).

Note that the funerary reed litter (449), common in the Lima culture and the Middle Horizon, survives into the Late Intermediate Period.

B) Stylistic evidence:

Many stylistic elements are quite early (see also above "Links"):

- the unoutlined white circles with black central dot (290), a feature popular in MH2B (Menzel 1964:61);
- the cross design on the head-dress (2216, see fig.45);
- the concentric painted necklace (427);
- parallel lines in the back (Huari Norteño, early Ica/Chincha), etc.

Others elements are later and better fit the chronology of Gravefield I at Pachacamac :

- the use of a four- or three-colour, epigonal-derived ware;
- a decor of broken lines with filler-dots, typical for 3-colour geometric ware, on a "Punch" face-neck and a vessel, both illustrated by Uhle (1903: Pl.7, figs 4 and 5)
- the resemblance with Huaura 2 figurines.

If we look for a chronological spread within the group itself, we find similar contradictions, because some datable stylistic traits cut across other diagnostic elements such as the introduction of the mold, folded versus extended arms, the position of the air-holes (neck, shoulders, armpits). To give one example: 290, with an early head-dress decor of unoutlined white circles with black dots, has extended arms, which is usually a later trait. Type a could be somewhat earlier than type b, with the exception of the black ware 505, which could be altogether later (LIP 4,5?).

To sum up: this group could start as early as MH2B, considering some of the gravelots, the resemblance with other early MH figurines (Huari Norteño, South-Central Highlands) and specimens like 449, with its undeformed head and attached to a litter. But if we take into account the data regarding the provenance at Pachacamac—especially the total absence of this type in the "oldest part of Gravefield I" which dates to MH2B—at Huallamarca and at Maranga, a certain resemblance with Huaura 2, as well as the sporadic use of the mold and other diagnostic elements, a late MH-early LIP date is more likely.

CHAPTER 13

THE FIGURINES OF THE CHANCAY CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

The Chancay culture represents a break in the figurine tradition of the Central Coast in that, for the first time, we find a number of iconographically well defined and totally distinct figurine *types* within the same culture, obviously representing personages with a mythical or historic context familiar to the Chancay people. This trend already starts on the Central Coast during the late Middle Horizon, with the appearance of such groups as the anthropomorphic Cats and Birds (chapter 10), early anthropomorphic Huaura figurines (Chapter 10) or isolated specimens with elongated heads, but within the Chancay culture the distinct types become more numerous and more specific. Ramos de Cox (1971) had already suggested some functional variations within the Upper Formative and early Early Intermediate figurines from Tablada de Lurín, but as more related figurines are recovered, it becomes obvious that the bulk is very stereotyped indeed (see chapter 6).

The Chancay cultural area varies somewhat through time: in the early and classic phases of the culture generally over 80% of *cuchimilcos* (Group 1)¹ come from the Huaura and Chancay valleys and from Ancón. Towards the end of the Chancay sequence (late LIP, LH), red- and black ware figurines appear to be more numerous in the Chillón valley (60%), whilst black-on-white figurines probably continued to be produced in the Chancay heartland.

The Chancay figurines can be divided into the following types or groups:

Group 1: The *Cuchimilco*; Group 2: Figurines with elongated head ; Group 3: The "Witch"; Group 4: The Attendant; Group 5: Personage with Helmet; Group 6: Small, crudely-made figurines; Group 7: The Anthropomorphic Monkey; Group 8: Chancay-related Specials.

¹ The calculations are based on certain and fairly reliable provenances in Group 1. Other Chancay groups mostly come from the Chancay heartland.

CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE CHANCAY CULTURE (see Chart 3)

No in-depth study has ever been made of the Chancay pottery style. Attempts at a chronological sequence were made by Strong (1925), using Uhle's excavations at Ancón, by Kroeber (1926b), using Uhle's excavations in the Chancay Valley, as well as by Willey (1943b) who excavated at Ancón and by Horkheimer (1970) who excavated in the Chancay valley. In addition Menzel (1977:41ff) has correlated Uhle's Ancón graves with her Middle Horizon chronology. This allows us to date Strong's (1925) phases (Middle and Late Ancón).

More recently M.Cornejo Guerrero has twice attempted a seriation, using gravelots excavated by Horkheimer at Lauri, Chancay (Comejo Guerrero 1985 and 1991). In his 1985 seriation, Cornejo uses 18 graves from Lauri (Lauri 1 to 12, 15; Lauri VI/1; Lauri VII/1, VII/1', VII/2, VII/3¹). In his 1991 chronology he leaves out graves Lauri 2, 3, and 5-10—gravelots listed as "secondary" to phases 3 and 4—but adds graves 13, 14; the graves from sectors VI and VII remain the same. On the basis of these seriations, Cornejo proposes a chronology—for the cemeteries at Lauri—of three main phases, the third one subdivided into two sub-phases, A and B (Comejo 1991:104).²

In his study of the Reiss and Stübel material from Ancón, which contains many figurines, Haas (1986) follows the Strong ceramic phases in combination with the Rowe/Menzel chronology. However in his dating of specific objects he often equates Late Ancón 1 with LIP 1-2, (rather than LIP 1-3), which results in a certain discrepancy with my own dating. It is also unfortunate that he assigns objects to specific ceramic styles, even if the ware of the object does not have the specific characteristics (f.i. nos. 111 (red on white) is assigned to epigonal; 112 (black on white), 113 (red on white) are assigned to 3-colour geometric; 122, with a white slip, to Chancay Black-on-white).

Combining observations by these authors with the evidence provided by the figurines and with associations from gravelots a chronological sequence of four phases does emerge for the Chancay pottery style as a whole (see Chart 3, Proposed Chancay chronology). This is somewhat distinct from Cornejo's sequence for Lauri, which—in its phase 1—contains only Teatino style pottery. The matching of this chronology with the epochs and phases of Rowe and Menzel's pan-Peruvian chronology and with absolute dates is at best tentative.

¹ The roman figures indicate different sectors of the Lauri cemetery.

² In his 1985 chronology Cornejo uses four phases, whilst in 1991 phase 3 becomes 3A, phase 4 becomes 3B. To avoid confusion I use the 1991 chronology, even when referring to the 1985 seriation.

Chancay Phase 1 (MH4 to LIP 1-2):

Corresponds roughly to Cornejo's phase 2, though it starts earlier. Some of the earliest figurines which can be assigned to the Chancay culture (Chancay 1.1.4, 1.2.4, 1.3.4) are figurines with folded arms in red ware, with press-molded details and/or white decor or figurines with a very thin white slip, mostly only surviving in traces, applied on the terracotta ware, sometimes with red decor. These and related wares (referred to as "miscellaneous" in sub-group 1.1) are related to the sub-style or -styles originating in Ancón (see Introduction to the late Middle Horizon, chapter 9). Out of 22 certain or fairly certain provenances in sub-groups 1.1.4, 1.2.4, 1.3.4 (miscellaneous wares), 16 (72.7 %) come from Ancón.

Some figurines in wares derived from Uhle's Epigonal style (white and black designs on a red or orange grounding) and the 3-colour Geometric style (red and black designs on a white grounding), and even an early version of Black-on-white¹ probably also date to this phase. Unfortunately there are no associations to prove it. Although it is generally assumed that these styles succeed each other in time, there is evidence that they did overlap at Chancay (Kroeber 1926a:271ff). At Ancón, epigonal and 3-colour only occur together in significant proportions during Late Ancón I, that is LIP 1-3 (my phase 2) whilst black-on-white only becomes significant in LA II (my phase 3) (Strong 1925:160). However the resemblance of early Chancay figurine shapes in all these wares confirms some degree of contemporaneity.

Associations for phase 1 figurines (see Appendix 3):

- 1075(P.11299) /Chancay 1.1.1 from Ancón 1/T.962 is clearly made in an epigonal-derived type of ware, but is associated with a 3-colour geometric vessel.
- 862(P.9655)/Chancay 1.1.4 from Ancón 1/ T.721, a terracotta figurine with folded arms, is associated with a 3-colour geometric early Chancay vessel (P.9644) (Ravines 1981:143). Ravines assigns this grave (his grave no.45) to his *Epoca C*, i.e. MH4 (1981:115).
- 866(P.8149) /Chancay 1.1.4: grave Ancón 1/T.619 (see Pl.G2) contained two figurines, an early Chancay specimen in white-on-red ware, associated with a Supe figurine (867=P.8150), dating to the late Middle Horizon, as well as a 3-colour geometric vessel (P.8143). The latter can also be dated to MH4 by comparison with Strong 1925: Pl.49g (=MA II).
- 863(P.8128) /Chancay 1.1.4: In grave Ancón 1/T.618 an early Chancay figurine with traces of white slip is associated with two typical late MH cups (P.8107, P.8132) and two jars (P.8093, P.8094), featuring a decor which could be 3-colour geometric (the sketches are poor). A similar cup, associated with an earlier epigonal-derived bottle is dated to his phase C (MH4) by Ravines (1981:116-117).

¹ The early black colour has a purplish tinge, different from the later brownish or greyish black.

Chancay Phase 2 (LIP 3-4):

Fills the gap between phases 2 and 3 in Cornejo's Lauri chronology. Figurines with folded arms continue during this phase, with a variety of miscellaneous wares (red-on-white, black-on-red, even black ware), appearing alongside the white-on-red and white-slipped, 3-colour geometric and black-on-white; epigonal-derived specimens diminish. An important innovation is the appearance of figurines with extended arms. During this phase we see figurines with two sets of arms, one folded, one extended, (Chancay 1.2), very similar to those with folded arms only. We also find an early distinctive variant of figurines with extended arms, generally in red-on-white, white-slipped and plain red ware (part of Chancay 1.3). Whilst some of these are related to the Ancón sub-style (see above), others—from the lower Chillón and Rimac valleys—show the beginning of what Kroeber (1926c) calls "Sub-Chancay" (see below phase 3). We also see direct predecessors of the classic *cuchimilco* (Chancay 1.4)—both in 3-colour geometric and black-and-white wares—though with some features which disappear in the classic phase (phase 3).

Associations for phase 2 figurines (see Appendix 3):

The associations for phase 2 are somewhat problematic, but the validity of the stylistic and iconographic criteria used to define this phase is corroborated by the dating of all the double-armed specimens from the Reiss and Stübel Ancón excavations (243, 225, 341, 342) to Late Ancón I (= my phase 2) also on stylistic grounds (Haas 1986:nos.115-119).

Two gravelots show that the figurines with double arms (Chancay 1.2) can be associated either with figurines with folded or with extended arms:

- 871(P.6624)/Chancay 1.2.4, a hunch-back with two sets of arms, from Ancón 1/T.473, is associated with 870 (P.6630)/1.1.3 a black-on-white figurine with folded arms. This tomb is difficult to date: several associated vessels have a cream slip and a jar (P.6627) has a globular neck which could be classic Chancay. But there is also a plate (P.6638), described as having a black and red geometric design on an orange grounding: this sounds earlier (epigonal-derived?). An acceptable date for these associations would be (late?) phase 2.
- P.11055/1.2.4 from Ancón 1/T.852, is associated with a number of figurines with extended arms (P.11050, P.11051), a small hand-made black ware specimen (P.11045/Chancay 6.3) and with a few miniature pots, one of them (P.11045) with a design of vertical black-on-white stripes (Cornejo's decorative type PG-4) which occurs in both Chancay phases 2 and 3; the globular shape of the vessel is more akin to phase 2 types. However the black ware figurine could date to the later part of phase 3! So the date of this gravelot is ambiguous.

As for the associations available for the early *cuchimilcos* with extended arms (Chancay 1.3) they are somewhat problematic:

- 873/P.7427/Chancay 1.3.4, from Ancón 1/T.555 (Ravines's grave no.49) is assigned

by Ravines (1981:155) to his epoch D "Inca-Pachacamac". The figurine is totally untypical of the Late Horizon. In the absence of other grave goods the dating must be based on the form of the burial—a shallow pit with an elliptic to rectangular plan, covered by a mat—or on the single *fardo*, wrapped in a textile, tied by a string. But these forms of burial and *fardo* already occur in the early LIP (Kaulicke 1983:37, 54ff.)¹. The figurine—with characteristics such as a rounded head-dress with two perforations and flattened edge (profile), elongated eyebrows, traces of painted stripes across the legs—is more typical for phase 2 (see also chronology of sub-groups 1.1. to 1.3).

- P63/Chancay 1.3.4, is listed as coming from Uhle's Ancón burial T 14a (Strong 1925:190 and Pl.49d), located immediately above T 14 (Strong 1925:fig.8). The lower burials at Ancón/Site T date to MH4, the upper burials (a) are intrusive in a later midden strata and generally dated to Late Ancón II/LIP 5-8. However, Strong writes that the figurine was found "above T 14" and Uhle specifies that "it may have been put there by people of a later time who knew of the presence of the old grave" (Strong 1925:146). This clearly implies that the figurine was not actually part of the upper burial T 14a. Strong also points out that the ware is reminiscent of MAII/MH4 (1925:146) and actually assigns the figurine to that period (1925:Pl.49d). This dating is a little early: the pottery and overall aspect, traits shared with other early Chancay figurines, which disappear in the classic black-on-white phase, suggest a date to the early LIP 1-3, i.e. phase 2.
- 834/Chancay 2.2, a somewhat unusual black-on-white Chancay Group 2 figurine, was excavated by Horkheimer at Pisquillo Grande grave 3. Comparing some associated vessels (see Pl.G6) with Cornejo's typology for Lauri (1985), we note the following :

Pg(3)CVI is nearest in shape to *cantaro* C-1g only found in Lauri graves 2 and 6, both considered by Cornejo (1985:42) as "secondary" to phase 3A in that they include one or two phase 1 vessels associated with phase 3 vessels.

Pg(3)CXXVIII has a shape between *aribalos* A-1 (Cornejo's phase 2) and A-1a (phases 3A-3B), but the decor is clearly late 3-colour geometric (Cornejo's phase 2).

Two further vessels, Pg(3)XXXII, a *jarra* between shapes J- 1b and J-1c, both common in phase 3A and decor types Pg-5 and Pg-6, occurring from phases 2 to 3B, and Pg(3)LXXXIII, a *cantaro* C-1F, common during 3A and B, with decor code as above, are less diagnostic.

Finally Pg(3)CXVII and Pg(3) CXXIII are so-called *Chinos*, face-necks which Cornejo considers as diagnostic for phase 3B (1991:110). However if we compare these two specimens with the typical phase 3 *Chinos* (Cornejo 1991:fig.8) it is clear that we are dealing with something very different. The phase 3B *Chinos* present a nearly cylindrical neck, with no demarcation between the face and the headdress, as well as limbs in slight relief, whereas these *Chinos* have a somewhat globular face and flaring rim with no head-dress and no indication of limbs. If it were not for the lack of lateral handles, they would be much closer to Cornejo's *aribalo* 2a, only found in Lauri grave VII(3) and dating to phase 2 (1991:106; 1985:App.2,p.59).

¹ Unfortunately none of the Ancón 1 graves for which I have data come from the same excavation zone (faja 60/61); however the recorded burials nearest in numbering (T.543, T.548, T.578) all date to the late MH (Ravines 1981:122-129).

Other *Chinos*, which appear also earlier than phase 3B come from Pisquillo grave 4 (see below).

I would therefore date this gravelot and the figurine to the end of my phase 2; it also fits neatly in the hiatus which Cornejo's sees between his phases 2 and 3 (see Chart 3).

Chancay Phase 3 (LIP 5-8):

Coincides with Cornejo's Phase 3A and (partly) 3B (see phase 4, below). Cornejo's subdivision into A and B (1991:108) is based on ceramic variations within the black-on-white style, as well as on association with other wares. These other wares are :

- for phase 3A: a red ware with a reed-incised decor, named *Lauri impreso* by Horkheimer (1970);

- for phase 3B: a revival of a 3-colour ware, with red added to black-on-white.

The sample which I have assigned to this phase is dominated by the classic black-on-white pottery, represented by iconographically distinct figurine types, some of which begin in the preceding phase, as well as by stylistic variants such as the Chancay-Huaura (1.5) and Jecuan [(1.5.3)] sub-groups. Beside the Black-on-white ware the sample also contains figurines in red and in black ware.

There is not enough evidence of change in the black-on-white figurine material to apply Cornejo's subdivision into phases 3A and B (though some phase 3 black-on-white specimens have red face-paint, a phase 3B trait according to Cornejo), but I have tried to take the subdivision into account when dating available gravelots.

Associations for phase 3 Black-on-white figurines (see Appendix 3):

Phase 3A:

Associations come from two Lauri graves (used for Cornejo's 1985 seriation) and a grave from Pisquillo Grande, all excavated by Horkheimer and stored at the MPCs, Lima:

- 838/La(4)XLVIII, 840/La(4)XLIX, 837/La(4)LII, 845/La(4)LIV/Chancay 2.3¹ from Lauri grave 4. The grave contains 55 vessels, dating to classic Chancay (Cornejo 1985:App.2, pp.13-22).
- 839/La(12)XL/Chancay 1.4.1a, from Lauri grave 12 which contained 37 vessels, with two *cuchimilcos* (only one recorded). (Cornejo 1985:App.2, pp.39-45; 1991:108).
- 835/Pg(4)XXXI/Chancay 2.3, 836/Pg(4)XXX/Chancay 1.4.1b from Pisquillo Grande grave 4². Associated vessels include three type C-1h *cantaros* i.e. *Chino* face-necks, holding goblets (Pg(4)XLVIII, Pg(4)CXII, Pg(4)CL). For Cornejo this type is

¹ A fifth figurine (LI, unrecorded) is only described as "anthropomorphic" in Cornejo's catalogue (1985: App.2, pp.13-22; 1991:108).

² This grave is unpublished. The associated vessels were recorded at the MPCs.

diagnostic for phase 3B (1991:110). We have already seen that vessels which represent an intermediate stage between earlier face-necks (Cornejo's *aribalo* 2a) and the phase 3B *chinos* (*cantaro* 1h) appear in a late phase 2 grave (see above, phase 2/Pisquillo grave 3). I now suggest that the *chinos* here represent two further stages: Pg(4)XLVIII with its globular face, slightly flaring head-dress and applied circular eyes is still related to the earlier Pisquillo grave 3 specimens, whereas Pg(4)CXII and Pg(4)CXXVI have the near cylindrical vessel neck of the later *chinos* (see below Uhle's graves A1, B1 and B2 and Cornejo 1991:fig.8). A further *olla* resembles type O-1, dated to phase 3A. So this grave probably belongs to phase 3A.

Phase 3B?:

An attempt to date three further graves, using Cornejo's seriation shows that the dividing line between the sub-phases 3A and 3B is not clear cut¹:

- 1992(4-6437)Chancay 1.4.1a, 1993(4-6436) Chancay 1.4.2 from Uhle's Lauren (Lauri) grave B1 contained a total of 39 vessels. Note that 1992 has red decor on its cheeks. Dating of some associated vessels is as follows:

4-6435: <i>cantaro</i> C-1h (Chino):	phase 3B
4-6438: <i>cantaro</i> shape C-1f:	phases 3A-3B
decor Pg-5?:	phases 2-3B
4-6439: <i>aribalo</i> shape Ar-1a?:	phases 3A-3B
decor Pg-7?:	phase 3A-3B
4-6442: <i>vaso</i> shape V-1:	phase 3A

Overall date of Grave B1 : early part of 3B?

- 1997(4-6492)/Chancay 1.4.1a, 1998(4-6493)/ Chancay 1.4.1a , 1994(4-6451)/ Chancay 1.4.2, 2061(4-6452)/ Chancay 1.4.2, 1996(4-6494)/ Chancay 2.3, 1995(4-6495) Chancay 7 from Uhle's Lauren (Lauri) grave B2 which contains 39 vessels, amongst them:

4-6454: <i>cantaro</i> body-shape, position of handles C-1a :	phases 3A-3B
shape of neck C-1d: phase 3B	
4-6465: <i>aribalo</i> shape Ar-1a?:	phases 3A-3B
Design Pg-7?:	phases 3A-3B
4-6466 (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.81F):	
<i>cantaro</i> shape C-1f:	phases 3A-B
decor Pg-7:	phases 3A-3B
4-6475: <i>vaso</i> shape V-5:	phase 3B
4-6477: <i>cuenco</i> shape Cu-1?:	phase 2-3B
4-6482: <i>cantaro</i> C-1h (Chino):	phase 3B

Overall date of Grave B2: early part of 3B?

- 1990(4-6371)/Chancay 1.4.1a, 1991(4-6372)/ Chancay 3.1 from Uhle's grave A1 at La Mina, Chancay. It is described by Uhle as "touching the Incasic time" and contained 48 objects, including vessels such as:

4-6361: *cantaro* shape C-1h (Chino): phase 3B

¹ Many shapes have no exact equivalent in Cornejo; conversely he bunches together in one category several ornamental designs (eg. Pg-7 covers vertical broken lines or criss-cross designs on the body as well as a more complex neck decor).

4-6363: black ware <i>cantaro</i> :	later than phase 3B?
4-6365: <i>aribalo</i> shape A-1a?:	phases 3A-3B
decor neck Pg-6:	phases 2-3B
decor body Pg-4:	phases 2-3B
4-6366: <i>aribalo</i> shape A-1a:	phases 3A-3B
4-6367, <i>aribalo</i> ?:	no equivalent
4-6369, <i>cuenco</i> or <i>olla</i> ?:	no equivalent
4-6370 (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.82C):	
<i>cuenco</i> shape Cu-4:	phase 3A
4-6409 (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.80D):	
<i>aribalo</i> shape A-1a?:	phases 3A-3B
Overall date of grave A1: phase 3B.	

To recap: According to Comejo, *Chinos* are characteristic for phase 3B, so the three gravelots (above) as well as the graves 3 and 4 from Pisquillo Grande (see above, phases 2 and 3A) should all date to phase 3B. However the differences between the *chinos* in Pisquillo Grande graves 3 and 4 and those in Uhle's graves above and in Horkheimer's Lauri grave VII(2) (see Comejo 1991:fig.8), the association of that type with phase 2 and 3A vessels, seem to imply that *chinos* had a much longer life span than that envisaged by Comejo. Obviously his chronology still needs to be refined, using a larger sample.

Interestingly, there is hardly any mention in publications of variants in the black-on-white Chancay pottery style. However in the figurine sample such variants are represented by the distinctive Chancay-Huaura and Jecuan sub-styles (1.5). The former combines Huaura traits—especially the occurrence of males—with typical Chancay wares. The latter shares some Chancay-Huaura decorative elements, but lacks other specific characteristics: I suggest to call it the Jecuan sub-style (1.5.3), because it resembles pottery found by Uhle at the Calera de Jegoan (sic), his Chancay Site C. In his description of the material from Jecuan, Uhle says that it shows "a continuous development from the Epigonal, through Three-coloured pottery ...to the older and middle phases of the White-and-black pottery of Chancay" (Kroeber 1926b:293). The published black-on-white vessels from the site appear to have a decor which could be somewhat earlier than classic Chancay in that the designs are still close to 3-colour geometric (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.80C, 81G, 82D-G)¹. Of particular interest are the curlicues and stylized fish design (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.81G) which also occur on Chancay-Huaura and Jecuan figurines and the Chancay "Interlocking" design (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.82E) which appears on early and later black-on-white figurines (1.3, 1.4). However judging from the changes within the figurine material,

¹ The Jecuan sub-style was not confined to that site, to judge from a vessel with similar decor found at Huaral Viejo (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.80C) and from Jecuan style figurines coming from other sites.

the Chancay-Huaura and Jecuan sub-styles probably date to the later half of phase 3, some figurines with Jecuan-related features (1.4.3, 1.5) survive into phase 4.

A number of red ware and black ware (or black-slipped) figurines also belong to Chancay phase 3 (See sub-groups 1.6, 2.4, 3.2, 6.2. and 6.3). The red ware, often with punctated or incised decor, is perhaps related to the "Lauri Impreso" ware (Krzanowski 1991d), though Kroeber's (1926c) "Sub-Chancay", a crude Chancay-related ware, is probably a better candidate. Kroeber gives its distribution area as the Chillón and Rimac valleys; this is reflected in the figurine material, with hardly any such specimens from Chancay and relatively few from Ancón. As to the black ware¹ it is documented in Chancay (Kroeber 1926b) and Ancón assemblages during various phases, representing 7% of Late Ancón II (Strong 1925:60, Table 1). For the Chillón-Rimac area Kroeber (1926c) mentions that it always occurs in association with Sub-Chancay.

Associations for phase 3 red ware figurines² (see Appendix 3)

- 2013(4-5774)/Chancay 1.6.1 comes from Uhle's Ancón grave T2. The actual location of this grave is uncertain (Strong 1925:181). The non-descript pottery, including a small llama (Strong 1925:Pl.43g), is classified as Late Ancón II (ibid.: 168). The figurine itself is of very poor quality and only distantly related to Chancay by a high head-dress with perforations.
- 1595 (1588/345)/Chancay 1.6.1, a roughly-made figurine with its head missing excavated by Kroeber at Marquez, is associated with several vessels. The shape of two jars (see [PI]) is similar to a Late Ancón II vessel (cf. Strong 1925: Pl.42i), so the gravelot dates to phase 3.

Chancay Phase 4: Late Horizon

Cornejo's Phase 3B extends into the Late Horizon (Cornejo 1991:111)³ during which the Black-on-white ceramic style apparently survives in the Chancay heartland. Krzanowski (1991c) makes out a case for Inca influence in the area, though this influence is negligible.

As far as the figurines are concerned, the Late Horizon marks a break in the tradition which is clear enough to justify an additional chronological phase. Some black-on-white pottery appears to survive in the Chancay valley, as there is evidence of iconographic changes in some of the large black-on-white *cuchimilcos* (e.g. 1150, 245 in Chancay 1.4.2 and specimens in Chancay 1.4.3). Similar changes are not apparent amongst the smaller, less elaborate black-on-white figurines: only one small black-on-white *cuchimilco* (see 6/Chancay 1.4.1b). shows

¹ This is often referred to as "Chimu" ware, but it is stylistically totally different.

² There are no gravelots associated with phase 3 black ware

³ In Cornejo's chronological table (1991:fig.10) Phase 3B appears to end at the beginning of the LH.

phase 4 characteristics. Most Chancay phase 4 figurines are manufactured in red or black wares. But since over 75% of these come from an outside the Chancay heartland, I suspect that the typical small black-on-white *cuchimilco* went on being manufactured in the Huaura and Chancay valleys.

Since a strong Chancay-derived influence is apparent in *all* Central Coast figurines during the Late Horizon, I have tried to isolate a number of iconographic and stylistic traits which allow to distinguish between what I see as Chancay phase 4 figurines and other Late Horizon figurines on the Central Coast. Obviously this applies to Chancay figurines which are not black-on-white (mainly groups 1.6, 2.4, 3.2), but which have a Chancay look about them and/or come from areas of Chancay influence.

Chancay phase 4 figurines	Other Central Coast Late Horizon figurines
<i>1a. Hollow figurines with extended arms</i>	
Head-dress: mostly has a patterned border and/or perforations [(83% 43/52)] Air-holes: always at waist (as well as ears etc.)	Head-dress hardly ever has a border, perforations are rare. Air-holes: never at waist
<i>1b. Hollow figurines with folded arms</i>	
There are no late Chancay hollow figurines with folded arms (exception 1523/Chancay 1.6.1)	As above 1a.
<i>2a. Solid figurines with extended arms</i>	
Head-dress with patterned border and/or perforations	There are no solid Late Horizon figurines with extended arms (exception: 570, 346, 856/ LH 1.2)
<i>2b. Solid figurines with folded arms</i>	
There are only four such Chancay figurines (see 1.6.1)	Head-dress may have a patterned border, but the shape is different; perforations are relatively rare.
<i>Common traits (optional)</i> Large semi-circular eyebrows Punctated nipples Double incision at waist (part of genital triangle) Circular ear-plugs Necklace, often bulky	
<i>A Chancay phase 4 trait, rare on other LH figurines</i> Headband design of broken lines with multiple dot fillers	<i>LH figurine traits, rare on Chancay phase 4 figurines:</i> Emphasized shoulders; emphasized clitoris; linked feet

Associations for phase 4 figurines (see Appendix 3):

There is only one well documented gravelot for Chancay phase 4 figurines. It was excavated by Uhle at Ancón Site E. Uhle assigns the three graves from this site to “partly ...of the Chancay period.. partly of a more recent age...in which contact with the Inca civilization has already taken place” (Strong 1925:176):

- 2063(4-5851)/Chancay 1.6.1, from grave E1, is associated with two vessels of which only one is illustrated (Strong 1925:Pl.43d). The decor, though black-on-white, does not look typical for classic Chancay. Whilst Uhle assigns E2 to the Inca period and E3 to Chancay, he does not assign E1 to either. The figurine itself, made of one mold, solid, with an incised head-dress border featuring broken lines with multiple dot fillers, clearly belongs to phase 4.

THE CHANCAY FIGURINES

GROUP 1: THE CHANCAY *CUCHIMILCO*

The word *cuchimilco*¹ is generally used to designate the most common of Peruvian pottery figurines: the classic black-on-white Chancay doll, female, standing, generally with extended arms, naked, except for a head-dress and with a distinctive face paint in the form of "spectacles". The classic figurine is preceded by a variety of related earlier forms. So the name will be used for all Chancay figurines of that type, regardless of ware.

The forms predating the classic *cuchimilco* can be classified by the position of the arms: folded (Sub-group 1.1), folded and extended on the same figurine (Sub-group 1.2), extended but differing from the 1.4 classic prototype (Sub-group 1.3), the classic *cuchimilco* (Sub-group 1.4). A further sub-group (1.5) covers *cuchimilcos* of a Chancay-Huaura and other sub-styles.

SUB-GROUP 1.1: EARLY CHANCAY *CUCHIMILCOS* WITH FOLDED ARMS

• SUB-GROUPS 1.1.1 TO 1.1.4

Tables 25-28

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp.340-342

Plates 24-26

Sample: 63 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

This heterogeneous grouping includes figurines differing in wares, shapes and sizes, but all are clear precursors of the classic black-and-white Chancay *cuchimilco* (1.4, see below). Although some of the variations between specimens are due to a difference in time, there is no clear stylistic development, nor a clear correlation between styles and wares: early in the series we find specimens—especially the larger, well-made figurines (e.g.794/1.1.2)—which already closely resemble the classic *cuchimilco*.

The figurines range in size from 7.9 cm to 60.0 cm, with a median height around 16.0 cm; generally the larger specimens are more carefully finished, with a more elaborate modelled and/or painted ornamentation.

All the figurines—except three hunchbacks—are standing. The head tends to be smaller in proportion to the body on the larger figurines and can be rounded (65%), bilobed (circa 22%), or more rectangular (10%), broken (3%). In profile a marked fronto-occipital deformation is the

¹ This word is not listed in dictionaries of either Quechua or Americanisms!

norm. The face tends to be wide, some modelling of the eye-sockets and/or eyebrows, cheeks and chin is common. Some form of face paint, mainly zoning of the cheeks and outlining of the chin, is also quite common.

The body varies from fairly naturalistic to stylized, often broader in the upper part and straight or tapering towards the legs. These can be totally separated but are more often joined along the inside and often adorned with horizontal lines. The arms are folded, often upwards on the chest; hands with three fingers are common (circa 60%), except on black-on-white specimens. All the figurines are female, mostly with a large raised and outlined genital triangle. The back often shows some modelling of the neck, waist and buttocks.

Most specimens wear a head-dress: shapes vary, but a decor of vertical stripes is most common. Clothes are not worn, but in addition to the outlined genital triangle and the lines across the legs, more extensive body-paint is common in the 3-colour geometric sample (1.1.2, 1.2.2, 1.3.2), with the bird-foot motif and birds in general being represented. Half of the figurines wear a necklace (over 37% a single row of large beads), a few wear circular ear-plugs.

As no obvious iconographic groupings stand out—the larger figurines representing one-offs—the specimens are grouped by ware types: epigonal-derived, 3-colour geometric, black-on-white, miscellaneous wares (white-slipped, red-on-white, black-on-red, etc.). The latter represent a somewhat different tradition related to an ill-defined Ancón sub-style or styles (see Chapter 9, Introduction), with such traits as a flattened edge to the head-dress (in profile), lack of face- and body-paint. In the other wares many traits appear interchangeable: there is as yet no standardization. All wares include specimens showing some Huaura influence (see Discussion). Note that the decor in all wares is often only applied to the front (except for the upper part of the head-dress). Over 60 % have air-holes behind the upper arms, at the shoulders or the neck (as on late MH figurines) against 28% at or above the waist (as in classic Chancay).

DISCUSSION

Special features

Cranial deformation: Bilobation

Over 90% of the figurines have a clear fronto-occipital cranial deformation. In addition over 22% show some form of bilobation, from large rounded lobes to a very small indentation in the center of the crown.

Weiss (1962) and Reichlen (1982) describe two types of cranial deformation which can result in bilobation :

- the *Huaura* type is achieved by a downwards flattening of the cranium. It results in large parieto-occipital protuberances and sometimes—but not always—leads to bilobation (Weiss 1962:27; Reichlen 1982:Lám.6A,B,C; Muelle and Rojas Ponce 1967/68:figs.7-9). This form is mainly found on the Central Coast.
- the *Palta* type (the name refers to the Palta Indians) is produced by a flattening upwards and backwards, always resulting in bilobation (Weiss 1962:Lám.4B,B1; Reichlen 1982:Lám.5ABC). The distribution area includes the North and Central Coast (Reichlen 1982:389).

Most of the figurines would appear to show the *Huaura* deformation, but since the representations are stylized, it is difficult to differentiate between the basic deformation (resulting in lateral protuberances) and actual bilobation, presumably showing a marked incurving or indentation in the center of the crown. Only one epigonal-derived specimen (675/Chancay 1.1.1) appears to have a deformation of the *Palta* type.

According to Weiss (1962:24) the *Huaura* type deformation is mainly found in the "Huaura stratum at Chancay, Ancón and Lima". At Ancón 1, skeletal material with bilobation is documented mainly from late MH/early LIP graves. Amongst the few excavated tombs from that site for which the inventories were made available to me the percentage of bilobation on skeletal material is quite large: Tomb 105 (*Inventario* vol.? p.39), associated with a Supe figurine; three out of four skulls from Tomb 879, associated with a Supe figurine (*Inventario* vol.IX? p.43); tombs 539, 534, 578, 691, 721, (Ravines 1981:118, 122, 127, 132, 142) amongst others. There are also a number of bilobed figurines (some not recorded here because of insufficient data) in the available inventories.

Amongst Central Coast figurines bilobation first appears on figurines of the late Lima culture (see 1999, 633, 696, 2135). It is absent during the early Middle Horizon—indeed at Pachacamac during MH2 even the fronto-occipital deformation disappears. Bilobation reappears in the late Middle Horizon (Groups 1-3, 6), but is totally absent in Supe; only one *Huaura* figurine (the atypical 1521/*Huaura* 2.1) and some late MH-early LIP unaffiliated figurines (876, 1051/Unaffiliated Gr. 1, 137/Unaffiliated Gr.2, 1821, 1296/ Unaffiliated Gr.3) show bilobation (not to be confused with head-dress projections).

The deformation becomes common in early Chancay *cuchimilcos* (sub-groups 1.1 to 1.3), where more than 22% of figurines show a clear bilobation. Amongst these the bilobation is most common in 3-colour geometric (55% of bilobed figurines), followed by black-on-white (26%) miscellaneous wares (16%) and epigonal-derived (3%). Bilobation becomes rarer in

classic Chancay (7.5% in Chancay 1.4.1), except if one takes into account the small central indentation on the large *cuchimilcos* (35% in 1.4.2, 6% in 1.4.3). It is practically non-existent in Chancay-Huaura (3%), amongst the red- and black ware *cuchimilcos* (3.5%, Chancay 1.6) and the small Chancay-related figurines (8.5%, Chancay 6). Note also that the "attendants" with their characteristic "bicorne" head-dress show strong bilobation (Chancay 4); the "lugs" of the Chancay witch (Chancay 3) could perhaps also be linked with bilobation.

The rendering of bilobation on the figurines varies from a simple lateral widening (see 227 in Late MH Group 1 and 538 in Late MH Group 2, chapter 9) to more pointed lateral protuberances (e.g. 830, 589 in Teatino, chapter 9), highly stylized semi-circular lobes divided by a deep indentation (e.g. 1785, "Bird", chapter 10). In early Chancay—besides the forms mentioned above—the most common form consists of broad, low lobes with a shallow depression between them (e.g. 1079, 1062/1.1.2). Finally the large classic *cuchimilcos* (1.4.2) only show a minute indentation at the center of a straight crown.

The distribution area of bilobed figurines is generally confined to the Ancón-Chancay area: of the 103 late MH and LIP specimens with bilobation, circa 57% have no provenance¹, 13.5 % come from Ancón, 21.5 % from Chancay, Pasamayo or Lachay, less than 4 % from the Chillón valley, the rest from other sites.

Weiss and Rojas Ponce (1967/8) have attempted an interpretation of the bilobation in the Chancay and Chimu cultures. Bilobation is common on a certain type of Chimu face-neck, associated with symbols of marine life, plants or stars, and interpreted as a divine attribute. In Chancay the associations are less obvious, although some of the bilobed figurines (e.g. 1892, 1016/1.3.2) have representations of (marine?) birds painted in their genital triangle. Note also 799, 1179 (1.1.2) which—like the late MH bilobed biopomorphic figurines (Cats and Birds)—may represent anthropomorphic animals.

Another interpretation links bilobation to a specific lineage or clan. This is documented by a number of chroniclers and survived well into the colonial period (Weiss and Rojas Ponce 1967/7:303). The fact that bilobation is only shown on some figurines and the presence of three bilobed skulls in the same tomb (see above) would corroborate such an explanation. More work on skeletal remains is necessary to shed light on this particular form of cranial deformation.

Note that five early Chancay figurines (7%) do not have a fronto-occipital deformation. Three of these (103/1.1.1, 82/1.1.2, 59/1.1.3) also share a rather unusual elongated body-shape and may be early forms of the anthropomorphic Chancay "monkey" (Chancay 7).

¹ Sites of all ratings (from certain to unverifiable) are included.

Hands with three fingers

This is a recurrent theme in Peruvian iconography, either as three fingers and offset thumb (in Tiahuanaco and Wari iconography especially) or without the thumb, in which case it is thought to be linked with bird symbolism. Hands with three fingers first appear on Central Coast figurines during the Early Intermediate (see 804 and 815 in chapter 6, 633 in chapter 7) but become more common later (chapter 9), especially in late MH-early LIP unaffiliated figurines (chapter 11), disappearing from classic Chancay onwards. They are also common in the LIP of the South Coast (Ica-Chincha figurines), but otherwise rare.

Hunchbacks

Seven hunchbacks are found amongst early Chancay *cuchimilcos* (1.1-1.3); some also occur in early Ancón, in Huaura 2, in late Chancay black ware *cuchimilcos* (1.6.2) and Chancay group 2. In group 3 a deformed—mostly rounded—back, is one characteristic amongst others which defines that complex personage.

According to Cabieses (1974: vol.II,p.77) this deformity (resulting in a projecting back, and often also chest) was the result of tuberculosis of the spine; the bacillus itself has been isolated in a mummy. The recurrent representation must have had a specific significance. Hunchbacks are generally considered in pre-Columbian America as possessing special powers, which can be malevolent or beneficial (Linné 1943; Barbour 1977: 24). They were excluded from purification rites (Hocquenghem 1979: 221, 227). Acosta (1954/1590: 168f) relates their role in ritual flagellations.

Other special features :

The epigonal-related 541 (1.1.1) has unusual eye-appendages, inspired by the MH "feather" motif (cf. with head-dress of 1075/1.1.1).

1062 (1.1.2) with a bird and a fish painted on its chest, is seen by Rostworowski (1973) as Urpayhuachac, the goddess of fishermen, provider of fish and linked with marine birds¹.

The black-on-white SAC 218 (1.1.3) appears to have pustules (molded, painted black) on his chest. This may be the representation of a severe rash or "veruga". For a similar rendering of a disease see Cabieses 1974: vol.II, pp.80-82.

870 (1.1.3) has a deep groove running along the join of the front and back pieces (including on top of the head and under the feet). This can usually be seen on positive molds, which are

¹ See also Chancay-Huaura sub-group 1.5.2a, Special features.

used as a matrix to produce the negative mold. But this figurine, hollow and painted, is not a positive mold.

Links with other groups

The connection with Huaura 2 is undeniable (see Introduction, chapter 11, on Huaura-Chancay relationship). Similarities include air-holes often placed behind the upper arms, painted decor in front only. A stripy head-dress, a large bead necklace (though here often painted rather than molded), zoning of the cheeks, are also fairly common. But Huaura traits such as circular eyes, tearmarks, pointed tab ears all but disappear, whilst bilobation, arms folded upwards, hands with three fingers become more common in early Chancay. Above all there are changes announcing classic Chancay: a head with a lower crown, specific facial traits such as molded eye-sockets and/or brows, elliptic eyes, larger ears, a larger genital triangle, modelled buttocks, the use of black-on-white pottery and a gradual shift of the air-holes towards the waist.

The influence of the Ancón sub-style, felt on Huaura figurines, is also perceptible here, especially on white-on-red figurines (1.1.4): small genital triangle, large beads, stripy head-dress flattened at the edges (866, 1344), molded hair at the back (863). But the shape, notably of 863 and 862, the raised arms and three fingers are marginally more typical for early Chancay. Other candidates for the Ancón sub-style are 409, 1015 (1.1.1), but they too fit better into early Chancay than into Huaura or the Ancón-related Unaffiliated figurines (chapter 11).

An interesting rare trait is the continuous line linking the arms across the chest on four figurines (675/1.1.1, 794/1.1.2, 870/1.1.3, 863/1.1.4): this occurs in Huaura 2.1 as well as in late MH North Coast figurines (see Huaura 2, discussion).

Context

The eight specimens with certain provenance all come from graves, three from child burials, two from women burials (see Appendix 3).

Geographic distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Chillón Valley	Others
Chancay 1.1.1					
Certain			3		
Fairly reliable		3		1	
Unverifiable	2				1 (Pachacamac)
Chancay 1.1.2					
Certain					
Fairly reliable	1	2			
Unverifiable	2				

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Chillón Valley	Others
Chancay 1.1.3					
Certain			1		
Fairly reliable	2	1			
Unverifiable	3		2		
Chancay 1.1.4					
Certain	1		3		
Fairly reliable		1		1	1 (Chincha)
Unverifiable		1			

Out of 21 certain or fairly reliable provenances 81% (17) are from Huaura, Chancay and Ancón (all the latter certain). 1512 (1.1.1), said to come from Marquez, was acquired by Uhle from *huaqueros* (see Appendix 1): judging from the style, it is unlikely to come from there. The same applies to 1344 (1.1.4), which is closely related to the Ancón sub-style.

708 (1.1.4) is said to come from Chincha, which is not impossible (see Appendix 1/MRI), the specimen being so unusual. One figurine¹ (406/1.1.1), is said to come from Pachacamac. Like 1513 (similar but without provenance) it has a tubular body, large head and multi-row necklace, resulting in a Chimu look. I doubt that the provenance is correct.

Chronology : see Group 1.3.

SUB-GROUP 1.2: EARLY CHANCAY *CUCHIMILCOS* WITH TWO SETS OF ARMS

• SUB-GROUPS 1.2.2¹ - 1.2.4

Table 29

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.343-344

Plates 26-27

Sample: 29 figurines.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Because of the absence of large, one-off figurines, the specimens in this group are more homogenous than in sub-group 1.1. They are generally smaller and often less well made. The main difference lies in the double set of arms, one folded on the chest, always upwards and with hands often with three fingers, the other extended sideways, either ending in a tip, or with circular concave hands lacking fingers; some 3-colour and black-on-white specimens have angular elbows. Other differences are: changes in the head-dress (diminution of vertical stripes, appearance of perforations), lack of overall body-paint, only 14% wear large bead necklaces, only 14 % are bilobed.

¹ There is no sub-group 1.2.1 (Epigonal-related), but the numbering starts with 1.2.2 to keep the sub-groups in line with sub-groups 1.1 and 1.3.

The figurines are medium sized (median size: 15.5 cm). Like in sub-group 1.1 various wares are represented: 3-colour geometric, black-on-white, and the typical Ancón ware with a thin white slip, sometimes with red decor, but no epigonal-related ware. There is now a greater similarity between some of the 3-colour and black-on-white specimens (compare 820/1.2.2 with 394/1.2.3), whilst the figurines in the miscellaneous wares are different. A specific Ancón variant includes figurines with long straight eye-brows, large ears, arms folded high on the chest and extended arms starting at waist level (341, 342/1.2.2; 871, 1353/1.2.3; see also 1.3). Figurines showing a clear Huaura influence have disappeared. Note that all the hollow figurines have air-holes at waist-level.

DISCUSSION

Special features

Figurines with two sets of arms, one folded, the other extended are specific to the Central Coast and in particular Chancay (see also Huaura 2.2.1). They first appear at the very end of the MH and although there are isolated specimens in classic or late Chancay (410/Chancay 2.3), the majority are confined to the early phases of the Late Intermediate. They appear to mark a transitional stage, after which extended arms become the absolute norm for Chancay, though possibly not for Huaura. At Ancón, where early Chancay figurines with double arms are fairly common, followed by Chancay figurines with extended arms only, the Late Horizon sees the reappearance of figurines with folded arms. The appearance of extended arms in the Huaura and Chancay cultures might be linked with the rejection of the religious dominance of Pachacamac, mentioned earlier in relation with the local creation myths (see Huaura 2, discussion).

It has been suggested that the second, extended pair of arms represents wings: it is true that in the majority of cases the extended arms either have no hands or the hands are sketchy, slightly convex, with no fingers; in addition the hands of the folded arms often have only three fingers, which has been interpreted as a bird characteristic. Carrión Cachot (1951) identifies the typical Chancay female—her extended arms seen as wings—with an ornithomorphic Moon goddess. I cannot go along with this interpretation because in classic Chancay the extended arms are definitely shown as arms, with realistic hands and fingers: they correspond much more to the *orante* position (transl. "worshipper"), described by Acosta (1590/1954: 144): "...El modo de hacerle oración al Viracocha...y a las demás guacas y ídolos, era de abrir las manos, y hacer cierto sonido con los labios..".

One figurine with double arms (1329/1.2.4) was found attached to a cane litter.

Context

At least nine specimens (including those excavated by Reiss and Stübel) come from graves, mostly at Ancón.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Chillón Valley	Rimac
Chancay 1.2.2					
Certain			4		3
Fairly reliable		1			
Unverifiable					
Chancay 1.2.3					
Certain					
Fairly reliable					
Unverifiable		1			
Chancay 1.2.4					
Certain			4		
Fairly reliable			3		
Unverifiable			1		1

Of the 15 certain or fairly reliable provenances, eleven (over 73%) are from Ancón, only one from Chancay, perhaps showing that this type is more closely linked with the Ancón sub-style, though one must not forget that Ancón is the most excavated site in the area. Three figurines are from the lower Rimac valley. Amongst them: 1580 (1.2.2) was excavated by Kroeber at Huaca 15/Aramburu-Maranga¹.

Chronology: see sub-group 1.3.

SUB-GROUP 1.3: EARLY CHANCAY *CUCHIMILCOS* WITH EXTENDED ARMS

• SUB-GROUPS 1.3.1 - 1.3.4

Tables 30- 32

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 345-347

Plates 28-29

Sample: 49 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

This large sub-group is heterogeneous: like sub-group 1.1 it includes a number of important specimens as well as figurines belonging to somewhat different stylistic traditions (1.3.4). The head varies in size, the crown is generally rounded, over 26% show bilobation. Beside face-

¹ The catalogue entry reads "from upper levels, caved in, above 2.8m". These are probably the "clearing excavations" to reach the Proto-Lima (e.g. Lima, Nievería) levels (Kroeber 1954:11). Unfortunately Kroeber left no record of the 71 late mummies removed!

paint similar to sub-groups 1.1 and 1.2 we see the first appearance of classic Chancay face-paint. The arms are now extended, mostly sideways and upwards, but also vertically upwards from the elbow (early 3-colour geometric) or horizontally forward (epigonal-derived); hands can be featureless, like in 1.2, but more than 50% of 3-colour and black-on-white figurines now have incised fingers. Body-paint (except in 1.3.4) is extremely elaborate, including—besides the outline of the genital triangle (all the figurines are female) and lines across the legs— complex all-over decor. The necklace of large beads (worn by only 10%) is often replaced by several rows of beads or by a painted line.

The figurines range from 9 cm to 65 cm, with a median size of 20 cm. There are only three rather unusual epigonal-related specimens (1.3.1), the other sub-groups being equal in size. Note that over 80% of air-holes are now at waist level.

DISCUSSION

Special traits / Links with other groups

Two epigonal-related specimens (1.3.1), especially 674, said to come from Chincha¹, are rather unusual, with arms extended forward (broken on 1281), pendant breasts and elaborate body-paint on 674. Some of these traits do occur in Chancay, but are rare: pendant breasts are represented on an exceptional Chancay (?) modelled jar (Lavalle and Lang 1982:47) and on a few Chancay Group 3 figurines (376, 508). The body-paint motifs are Chancay (bird foot and composite cross), but the composite cross is also common in the Chincha and Ica styles²; the pointed fingers and toes also have a South Coast feel about them (cf. Lapiner 1979:fig.501). Contacts between Chincha and Chancay are mainly said to occur during the classic Chancay phase 3, from LIP 4 onwards (Menzel and Rowe 1966:65; Menzel 1966:107), so the origin and date of 674 remain problematic.

The other epigonal-related specimens (1213) with thick arched eyebrows, much lower head-dress, as well as the unusual dark face-paint with tears, does not belong to the main Chancay tradition. It may be distantly related to another marginal grouping (see SAC 301, SAC 404, SAC 201, SAC 271 in Huaura 2.2.).

1250 (1.3.2) and 594 (1.3.3) have a very marked bilobation, akin to animal ears, continuing a tradition starting with the late MH "Cats" or "Birds" (Group 6, chapter 10. P62 (1.3.3) has a

¹ According to R.Fung Pineda (personal communication) the numbering 20/... at the MNAA, Lima, covers a collection of Chiriqui ceramics. However three specimens with a 20/... numbering (674 in 1.3.1, 784 in Unaffiliated Group 2 (Chapter 11) and a LIP South Coast figurine (Peru N.Ö p.274)) all come from Peru.

² In Ica the "composite cross" only occurs in patterned bands, not in a scattered design, though the derivative "tailed square" design does (Menzel 1976:figs 299, 488, 324)

different, "Mickey-mouse" type of bilobation which has parallels in an early Chimu group (see Fig. 40, Chapter 11) and unaffiliated figurines such as 1296 (Unaffiliated Group 3, Chapter 11) and 424 (Chancay 8).

The atypical 792 (1.3.3), a sitting hunchback, with its unusual lugs attached to the head-dress border-band could be a predecessor of the mythical Chancay type 3.

53, 527 (1.3.2), 358 (1.3.3) with their very large semi-circular head-dress, mostly with narrow applied border, and ears shown inside the head-dress are related to 1634, 1917 (1.4.1a), 1080 (1.4.1b), 781, 1745 (1.6.2); they may also represent a regional variant.

1256 to 1798 (1.3.3) and 368 (1.3.4) show some Huaura influence.

The red-on-white figurines (1.3.4) are a continuation of earlier figurines in similar wares (1.1.4, 1.2.4), sharing traits like the elongated eye-brows, long necks etc., and are related to the Ancón sub-style. Other white-slipped solid figurines (226-380), one of them allegedly from the lower Chillón valley, could perhaps be assigned to Kroeber's (1926c) "Sub-Chancay". Both variants represent somewhat different traditions from the Chancay mainstream.

Context

One figurine comes from a grave (873 from Ancón 1/grave 555, Ravines 1981:155-156); P63 was found above grave T14 (Strong 1925). The five specimens excavated by Reiss and Stübel in the Ancón Necropolis and two figurine purchased by Uhle in the Chillón valley probably also come from burials, though there are no data about their context.

Geographic Distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Chillón Valley	Others
Chancay 1.3.1					
Certain					
Fairly reliable					Chincha
Unverifiable	1				
Chancay 1.3.2					
Certain					
Fairly reliable		2		1	
Unverifiable		2	1		
Chancay 1.3.3					
Certain			1		
Fairly reliable					
Unverifiable		1			
Chancay 1.3.4					
Certain			6		
Fairly reliable	1			1	
Unverifiable	1		2		

This sub-group is very badly documented. Like in sub-group 1.2 the six certain provenances are all from Ancón. In this case however, all the figurines occur in sub-group


1.3.4, which strengthens the argument for the existence of an Ancón sub-style. The provenance from the “Vicinity of Trujillo” is certainly wrong.

CHRONOLOGY (SUB-GROUPS 1.1, 1.2, 1.3)

It is obvious from the similarities between the three early Chancay sub-groups that they partly overlap chronologically, so their position in time is best discussed in relation to each other and to classic Chancay types.

Gravelot associations (see Chancay Chronological framework and Appendix 3):

Unfortunately meaningful gravelot associations only exist for seven figurines, mostly in miscellaneous wares:

- 1.1.1: 1075 dates to LIP 1-2, Chancay phase 1.
- 1.1.3: 870 (associated with 871/1.2.4): the dating of other associated vessels is fairly ambiguous, but a  likely date is LIP 3-4, the end of phase 2.
- 1.1.4: 862, 866 and 863 all date to the late MH, i.e. Chancay phase 1.
- 1.2.4: The association of P.11055 with figurines with extended arms (in Ancón 1, grave 852) also shows that double-armed figurines occur both with type 1.1 (see above 870) and 1.3 specimens. But this gravelot also contains P.11053 (1.6.2), a black ware figurine which could be much later!
- 1.3.4: The dating of two figurines (873 and P63) are subject to debate (see above Chancay chronology).

In the absence of proper associations, the early Chancay figurines have to be dated through manufacturing criteria (wares, air-holes) and stylistic traits:

Manufacturing criteria:

Although this is a random sample *par excellence*, it is still significant that the epigonal-derived wares decrease from 28.5% in 1.1.1 to 6% in 1.3.1¹, whilst 3-colour geometric increases from 25% in 1.1.2 to 38% in 1.2.2 and to 32% in 1.3.2: this follows the expected frequency curve of these wares from the late Middle Horizon to the time they are completely replaced by black-on-white².

The frequency of black-on-white figurines does not quite follow the curve one could expect (1.1.3: 22%, 1.2.3:17%, 1.3.3:31 %), with too large a percentage in sub-group 1.1. This may be due to the fact that the position of the arms is not an absolute criterion in a chronological sense: figurines with folded arms probably went on being produced during Phase 2 (we know that a few survive into phase 3). Also some figurines which have been included in the classic

¹ Epigonal-derived wares do not occur in sub-group 1.2.

² The percentage of 3-colour in 1.2 could be even higher: some Reiss and Stübel specimens which I have included in the miscellaneous wares have been classified by Haas (1986) as 3-colour geometric on stylistic grounds.

Chancay phase 3 (see 1.4 and especially in 1.5.2), may be somewhat earlier, which would increase the black-on-white percentage in 1.3, that is towards the end of phase 2.

The position of the air-holes strengthens the picture provided by the wares. If we remember that during the classic phase 3 the air-holes are always near the waist and counting only the hollow figurines with recorded air-hole locations for this calculation, we see that 1.1 figurines have 30% air-holes at the waist, 1.2: 100%, 1.3: 87.5%. If we only consider black-on-white figurines: 1.1.3 figurines have 33 % of air-holes at waist level, 1.2.3: 100%, 1.3.3: 92%.

Stylistic traits:

If we assign the classic Black-on-white *cuchimilco* (1.4) to Phase 3, the following traits—present in early sub-groups 1.1 to 1.3 and excluding the miscellaneous wares when referring to painted decor—have all but disappeared by phase 3:

- Marked bilobation (a very small indentation can occur later);
- Folded arms, hands with three fingers; note also the gradual change—on extended arms—from lack of hands, to rounded scooped hands (1.2) to hands with incised fingers (1.3);
- Painted outline of the genital triangle, sometimes with filler elements;
- Painted lines across the legs. Note that this trait occurs on Chancay-Huaura figurines in phase 3 and reappears more generally in phase 4;
- Overall body-paint of small motifs;
- Necklace of large single beads or painted line around the neck;
- Changes in face paint (see Plate 30) show a definite evolution from the late Middle Horizon to classic Chancay. Broadly speaking we start with a large percentage of all-over face-paint, which only occurs in sg. 1.1; also popular in sg. 1.1 is an early form of facial *zoning*, very common on Huaura figurines, which covers the eyes and cuts diagonally across the cheeks to the chin. This survives as the most common form also in sgs. 1.2 and 1.3, but does not occur in sg. 1.4. In early epigonal-related figurines the diagonal section of the cheek-zoning can be outlined by a contrasting line in white (e.g. 141, 143/1.1.1), replaced by a straight double line or stepped line in 3-colour geometric or early black-on-white figurines (e.g. 794, P56 in 1.1.2; 1448, 1749 in 1.3.2, 2275 in sg. 1.3.3); but more often the outline is in a darker colour.

In sg. 1.3 a new form of face zoning appears, sometimes only covering part of the eyes, but extending towards the temples—as in the classic Chancay "spectacles" of 1.4—and covering the cheeks to the chin (77, 598/1.3.2, 1333/1.3.3).

Alongside these two forms of *zoning* we see the appearance of horizontal lines along the lower part of the cheeks, which become typical in classic Chancay (e.g. P56/1.1.2; 1892/1.3.2, SAC 247/1.3.3; also occasionally a "medallion" enclosing birds, (e.g. 1016, 100/1.3.2).

- Changes in the head-dress: the classic (1.4) head-dress generally consists of a rectangular hat (sometimes rounded at the corners), with a plain black calotte, often pierced by a row of small perforations, and edged with a horizontal border-band,

painted with designs such as broken-line-and dot, Chancay Interlocking etc. The following variants, occurring in sgs. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 all but disappear later :

- head-dress with vertical or diagonal stripes or a combination of stripes and a horizontal border-band (e.g. 541/1.1.1, SAC 257/1.1.3, 674/1.3.1 and numerous other examples);
 - applied brim with vertical perforations (675/1.1.1; 794, P55, in 1.1.2; 222 in 1.3.4);
 - raised—rather than painted—border-band (P56/1.1.2; 1892, 2249, 598, 594, 527/1.3.2, 358, 165/1.3.3);
 - border-band with designs such as: square-and-dot (794, 1062/1.1.2; 661/1.2.2), crosses (225/1.2.2), meander variants (541/1.1.1; 820/1.2.2; SAC 247, 1333 in 1.3.3) These designs disappear or are greatly modified in classic Chancay.
 - head-dresses with perforations along the top (not always visible on the photographs), very common in classic Chancay, increase from 6 % in sg. 1.1 to 27.5% in sg. 1.2 to 39% in sg. 1.3. The number of perforations per head-dress also increases from mostly two (sgs. 1.1, 1.2) to three or four (sg. 1.3), in line with classic Chancay.
- Rarer traits such as very elongated eyebrows (e.g. 1148, SAC 262/1.1.4; 1782/1.2.3., 1353/1.2.4; many figurines in 1.3.4) or large eyes with parallel lids (491/1.1.2; 164/1.2.4; 226/1.3.4) also disappear later¹, whereas typical traits like the classic Chancay features, especially the thin nose with nostrils and *alae* and the naturalistic mouth gradually make their appearance.

Although these traits are valid criteria for dating, they are not specifically linked to any of the three sub-groups. As a result no sub-group as a whole can be assigned to a single phase (cf. with Chronological framework):

Sub-group 1.1: Early cuchimilcos with folded arms:

Sub-group 1.1.1 (epigonal-related): 1075 (from Ancón 1/T.962, associated with a 3-colour geometric vessel) and 541, both with feather-motif decorative elements (on 541: the corners of the eyes) belong to MH4 (Chancay phase 1). 231 is dated by Haas (1986:299) to LIP 1-2 (Chancay phase 1). Some others extend into phase 2, especially 675 and 1320 which are already very close to classic Chancay, though the horizontal perforated brim (675) is an early trait.

Sub-group 1.1.2 (3-colour geometric): may start at the end of phase 1 and spans phase 2: comparing the 3-colour geometric design elements with other figurine traits I discern a possible sequence in time of decorative motifs: from composite cross or square-and-dot (794, P55, P56) to smaller all-over motifs like bird's foot or simple cross (1061; cf. also 1.3.2).

¹ Long eye-brows reappear on late Chancay figurines from the Chillón valley (see Chancay Group 1.6.3).

Sub-group 1.1.3 (black-on-white): 870 from Ancón 1/T.473, associated with a double-armed figurine (871/1.2.4) and rather non-diagnostic vessels dates to the earlier part of phase 2. Most of the disparate black-on-white sample can be dated to the later part of phase 2 because of the appearance of the classic ware (but without the classic extended arms): some of the ware is decidedly of the black/brown-on-yellow/white variety, as opposed to a purply black which is earlier. Here SAC 257 is a typical predecessor of the classic *cuchimilco*, but still showing such early traits as a stripy head-dress, facial zoning, folded arms, large painted genital triangle and stripes across the legs and arms. Most of this sub-group belongs to the latter part of phase 2.

Sub-group 1.1.4 (miscellaneous wares): 862, 866, 863 from Ancón 1/T.721, T.619 and T.618 date to MH4 (Chancay phase 1). Note the press-molded features reminiscent of Ancón related unaffiliated figurines (Unaffiliated Group 1, chapter 11). The other specimens in 1.1.4, representing various other stylistic currents (e.g. 1148 to 150 with high stripy head-dress related to Huaura; 1253 and 1227 with both Huaura and Chancay elements; the unusual 708 said to come from Chincha), all belong to phase 2.

Sub-group 1.2: Early cuchimilcos with two sets of arms (folded and extended):

(Sub-group 1.2.1: No epigonal-related figurines).

Sub-groups 1.2.2 (3-colour geometric) and 1.2.3 (black-on-white): Three figurines from the Reiss and Stübel Ancón collection (225, 341, 342) are dated by Haas (1986: nos.292, 294, 295) to Late Ancón I/LIP 1-2 (Chancay phase 1). But by comparison with the specimens in Chancay sg. 1.1. the figurines in 1.2.2 and 1.2.3 should date to the end of Late Ancón I, i.e. to Chancay phase 2, though a few figurines, especially black-on-white ones could be earlier than in sg. 1.1.3 (many have a purplish tinge to the black colour).

Sub-group 1.2.4 (miscellaneous wares): The hunchback 871 from Ancón 1/T.473 is associated with 870 (1.1.3) and dates to early phase 2. P.11055 from Ancón/T.852 is associated to figurines with extended arms and a miniature vessel with black vertical stripes on a cream background (P.11045), both dating to the end of phase 2. Haas (1986: nos. 290, 297) dates the Reiss and Stübel figurines (243 and 340) to Late Ancón I, (Chancay phase 1/2), but 340 is problematic: admittedly the double arms are an early feature, as is the bilobation and the two perforations on the head-dress, but the lateral appendages of the head-dress and the facial traits have a Late Horizon look about them¹ ! The associated 1238, which has a definite Huaura feel to it, could be phase 3.

¹ There is a similar problem with dating the atypical 410/Chancay 2.1.3.

Sub-group 1.3: Early cuchimilcos with extended arms:

Sub-group 1.3.1 (epigonal-derived): The unusual 674 combines early decorative elements (composite crosses, unoutlined white dots, facial zoning) with a shape already close to the classic *cuchimilco*, which dates it to phase 2. The same can be said for 1213 (ware, tearlines) which probably comes from an area peripheral to the Chancay heartland.

Sub-group 1.3.2 (3-colour geometric): The 3-colour figurines (except P61) have later design elements than in sg. 1.3.1 (bird's feet, simple crosses, dots, birds) and many figurines are already close to classic Chancay (1749 to 598), so they must date to the second half of phase 2.

Sub-group 1.3.3 (black-on-white): The black-on-white figurines also belong to the later phase 2; some Huaura-influenced figurines (1256 to 1798) could be earlier. 1333 lacks the outlined genital triangle and horizontal lines across the legs, but has a type of face-paint and a meander-design variant on the head-dress which do not occur in classic Chancay, so it is a transitional 1.3/1.4 figurine.

Sub-group 1.3.4 (miscellaneous wares): 873 from Ancón 1/T.555 probably dates to phase 2 (see Chronological framework). P63, from Uhle's Ancón T14a is similar to other specimens (e.g., 226, 380), with a straight crown and very large eyes. These figurines are crudely made, solid, with a thin white slip, probably a local Ancón variant. Strong (1925:Pl.49d) dates P63 to MA II/MH4, i.e. Chancay phase 1, as Haas (1986: no.110) does 226. But the extended arms and the shape of the head point to the end of phase 2. Some other red-on-white specimens are more difficult to date, sharing traits with phase 1 or early phase 2: elongated eye-brows (222 to 1519), perforated horizontal hat-brim (222), flattened edge to head profile (45, 191, 1307), but these latter figurines already have perforations through their head-dress, a later trait. Haas dates 222, 232 (1986: no. 113, no.119) to LA I/LIP 1-3. The non-descript 241 is dated by Haas (1986: no.111) to MA II/MH4 (Chancay phase 1). Altogether the dating of 1.3.4 figurines remains speculative. The majority clearly dates to phase 2; some specimens could be late Chancay, though compared to phase 4 figurines the overall impression is quite different (see chronology of Chancay 1.6 and Chancay 6).

To sum up: Early Chancay *cuchimilcos* (Sub-groups 1.1 to 1.3) span phases 1 and 2 of the Chancay chronology (MH4 to LIP 4). But isolated specimens may date to the early part of phase 3 (LIP 5), some even to the Late Horizon.

SUB-GROUP 1.4: THE CLASSIC¹ BLACK-ON-WHITE *CUCHIMILCO*

This sub-group represents the most common and best known Peruvian figurines. It can be sub-divided into three further sub-groups: two discrete sub-groups on the basis of size: small *cuchimilcos* (1.4.1a and b) never exceeding 30 cm in height and large *cuchimilcos* (sub-group 1.4.2) measuring more than 50 cm, (indeed nearly 75% of these measuring more than 60 cm). A third sub-group (1.4.3) stands out by its unusual "baroque" ornamentation, not shared by the other classic *cuchimilcos*.

SUB-GROUP 1.4.1: SMALL BLACK-ON-WHITE *CUCHIMILCOS* (HEIGHT UP TO 30.0 CM)

- **SUB-GROUP 1.4.1A: SMALL BLACK-ON-WHITE *CUCHIMILCOS* WITH HEADS WIDER THAN HIGH**
- **SUB-GROUP 1.4.1B: SMALL BLACK-ON-WHITE *CUCHIMILCOS* WITH HEADS HIGHER THAN WIDE**

Tables 33-34

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.347-352

Plates 31-34

Sample: 119 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Medium sized females, standing (except for three specimens, two of them hunchbacks), with laterally extended arms and fairly straight legs, which can be separated but are more commonly joined along the inside. Typical traits include: finely molded facial features and face-paint consisting of "specs" and often of a fine line decor on the cheeks; a raised genital triangle, mostly with vulva and small molded and/or painted nipples; a head-dress consisting of a straight or rounded black calotte with a painted border-band. Often the calotte shows some perforations, which were used to adorn the figurines with feathers, shells or coloured string. The figurines can be naked or wear a short tunic, a string vest or crossed *fajas*².

This type is always made of two vertical molds with clearly visible lateral joins and air-holes placed predominantly at the waist. Although there is a noticeable variety in the hue of both the "white" and "black" paint, those differences appear not to be linked to any stylistic variables. For instance: 1245 and 1246 (sg. 1.4.1a) are obviously a pair, made from the same mold, but the slip on 1246 has a distinctly more pinky hue than on 1245.

The attribute analysis shows that a valid criterion for a sub-division of the sub-group is the shape of the head (see discussion below). Although some variables may be chronological, it would appear that—by and large—sub-groups 1.4.1a and 1.4.1b come from different areas of

¹ The term "classic" was coined by Uhle for the black-on-white Chancay pottery (Kroeber 1944:44).

² *Fajas* made of string wound across the body also occur (1602/1.4.1a, 377/1.4.1b).

the Central Coast (Chancay and Ancón/Chillón). Within the sub-groups one notices further stylistic groupings (see below).

DISCUSSION

A number of traits either differ completely or are less common in sub-groups 1.4.1a and 1.4.1b (with a few exceptions listed below):

Sub-group 1.4.1a	Sub-group 1.4.1b
Head as wide or wider than high	Head higher than wide
In profile often tilted backwards	In profile often straight
Crown: various shapes, including semi-circular	Crown: straight or slightly rounded, rarely semi-circular
Bilobation: 10%	Bilobation very rare
Body shape: broader chest, tapering towards short legs, which can be fully separated; broader, flatter feet (when shown);	Straighter lateral outline; legs longer, narrower, always joined; feet often an extension of the legs (e.g. 1360, 71, 2000);
Hands often painted black;	Hands rarely painted black;
Head-dress: black calotte with fairly narrow border band; band sometimes in relief, sometimes not shown; border band motifs different from sg. 1.4.1b	Head-dress: narrow calotte, often with very wide border band, which can be separated from the calotte by a wide space or several horizontal lines; border band motifs different from sg. 1.4.1a
Clothing: either none or plain tunic (exceptions see below)	Clothing: always worn (tunic, string vest, crossed <i>fajas</i>)

A few specimens in each sub-group show traits more common to the other sub-group:

- *In sg. 1.4.1a*: Figurines 1356 to C4, have clothing more typical for sg. 1.4.1b (416 and 492 only in the back); 416 has pendant triangles at the back of the head-dress, a trait shared with 121 and 65 in sg. 1.4.1b. 50 has an overall shape more typical for sg. 1.4.1b: note also the unusual high black calotte, like 142 and 493 in sg. 1.4.1b (see below).
- *In sg. 1.4.1b*: 843 and 1244 have a rounded head-dress with a small bilobation, painted hands, and no clothing (843 only) more typical for sg. 1.4.1a. However the wide spacing between the calotte and border band (843) and the broad border band and the vest (1244) correspond to sg. 1.4.1b. 142 and 493 are included in sg. 1.4.1b because of their head size, but all the other traits (face-paint, body-shape, painted hands, lack of clothing, narrow border band) are typical of sg. 1.4.1a. Note the unusually high calotte, resembling 50 in sg. 1.4.1a (see above). Finally 1321 shares with sg. 1.4.1a the absence of clothing and of head-dress border, and the painted hands.

Within each sub-group one can discern the following groupings:

Sub-group 1.4.1a:

- 544 to 400 are on the whole better-made, mostly larger specimens, some with bilobation and/or separate legs, more elaborate face-paint; 1998 to 400 have double "specs" and curlicues more common in the Chancay-Huaura and Jecuan sub-styles (sgs. 1.5.2,3).
- P64 to 1589 have nearly square heads, with the ears placed inside the head-dress; note the criss-cross on the border band of 396, 1598 and SAC 276, similar to Chancay-Huaura. 1248 to 832 are smaller, crudely made figurines.
- 470 to 378 are grouped by linkage: triangle motif on the border band, or lack of border band, markings in the corners of the mouth; note the very different facial traits of 477, said to come from the Rimac valley. SAC 360 to 492 are one-offs: SAC 360 is related to the atypical 568. 1356 to 50 are related to sg.1.4.1b (see above).
- Amongst the atypical figurines note the unusual face paint of SAC 352, 1243; 1634 and 1917 have semi-circular calottes with applied border-bands, both early traits; 1540 to SAC 179 have folded (or absent) arms, but they show no early traits, so do not belong to Chancay 1.1.

Sub-group 1.4.1b:

The main groupings co-relate with the clothing. The specimens with tunic (80 to 118) tend to have narrower border bands on their head-dresses, but there are no significant differences between those with string vest and those with *fajas*. 843 to 1321 wear no clothing; they and 1244 are related to sg. 1.4.1a. The atypical 1080 is related to 1634 and 1917 in sg. 1.4.1a; 6 is a Late Horizon figurine with Chancay decor.

However, many of the stylistic traits described may not have a real significance in terms of temporal or regional variations. If we examine the figurines from Uhle's grave B2 at Lauri (1997, 1998/1.4.1a, 1994, 2061/1.4.2, 1996/ 2.3, 1995/3) we note differences in the quality of the manufacture, the colour of the surface finish, the design motifs of the border band, etc. To compare only like and like, that is 1997 and 1998, both from sg. 1.4.1a:

1997	1998
Head tilted backwards	Head straight
Face-paint: no specs, classic lower cheek decor	Face-paint: specs, cheek decor with curlicues (related to "Jecuan" sub-style, see sg. 1.5.3);
Painted hands, no fingers	Plain hands, incised fingers
Legs completely separated	Legs joined down the middle
Head-dress border: broken lines with bird fillers	Head-dress border: broken-line-and-dots motif
No clothing or adornments	Tunic, row of beads

It is of course possible that these figurines were luxury goods, produced at different centers, though in roughly the same area, or heirlooms of different epochs. A more plausible explanation is that we are dealing with a certain amount of creative freedom. On the other hand the iconographic variations (e.g. different figurine *types*) within the same burial are more likely to have had a functional significance.

Context

The figurines were undoubtedly grave goods: at least nine specimens (1992, 1997, 1998, 839, 832/sg.1.4.1a and 1990, 836, 2000, 843/sg. 1.4.1b) come from documented graves and four further specimens were excavated in the Necropolis of Ancón or in Quintay.

Two of the figurines (839, 843) are known to come from inside the wrappings of a *fardo*; 839 was placed together with another similar figurine (La-12-XXXVII) in a large *fardo*, presumably that of an adult (Comejo 1985: App.1, pp.12, 45). This is a common practice in Chancay: no less than four figurines are visible on the X-ray of a *fardo* from Ancón (fig.46). There are no other data regarding the age or sex of the interments.

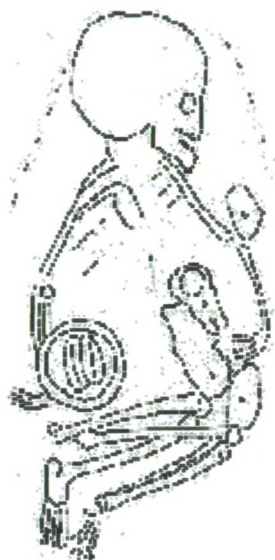


Fig. 46

Some figurines may have been toys: 1458/1.4.1a is attached to a litter made of crossed strings, probably representing a cradle, rather than a funerary litter (see chapter 16). 377/1.4.1b carries a load of sticks attached to its back, possibly representing spindles wrapped in a textile. This of course may also have a symbolic meaning, since similar bundles of spindles are frequently found in burials (e.g. Kaulicke 1983: Abb.81.7).

Many of the figurines, especially those in sg. 1.4.1b are in poor condition. This may be due to prolonged use before interment, though many specimens in this sub-group come from Ancón and Chillón and may have been less well made than those from Chancay.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay V.	Ancón	Chillón V.	Others
Chancay 1.4.1a					
Certain	3	5	1		
Fairly reliable		10	2	2	Magdalena (Rimac)
Unverifiable		11	5	1	Haida (not located)
Chancay 1.4.1b					
Certain	3	4	2	1	
Fairly reliable		2	1	6	
Unverifiable	3	2	4	1	

We see that in sg.1.4.1a 18 of the 24 (75 %) figurines with certain or fairly reliable provenances come from Chancay and Huaura, 3 (12.5 %) from Ancón, 2 (8.3 %) from Chillón.

In sg.1.4.1b, for 19 certain or fairly reliable provenances 9 (47.3 %) are from Chancay and Huaura, 3 (15.8 %) from Ancón and 7 (36.8 %) from Chillón. Note also that 1365 from Marquez (sg.1.4.1a) has clothing more typical for sg.1.4.1b (see above); conversely in sg. 1.4.1b 843 from Lauri and 493 from Chancay show traits (no clothing, bilobation) typical for sg. 1.4.1a (see above). So it would appear that the geographic distribution accounts—at least partly—for the differences in the two sub-groups.

Chronology (refer to Chronological framework)

This group dates mainly to the classic phase 3 of the Chancay pottery style. Many early traits (painted outline of the genital triangle, all-over body-paint, painted lines across the legs or at the neck) have all but disappeared, others (bilobation, beads at neck, relief head-dress border) have become rare: they are replaced by the characteristic Chancay face and the typical face-paint (with "specs" and fine line-drawings on lower cheeks) and an unadorned body with or without basic clothing on its upper part.

An attempt to fit this group into Cornejo's chronology (see Chancay chronology) using the available gravelots raises some problems:

Several figurines (544 to 1430 in sg.1.4.1a), carefully made, with a rounded, sometimes bilobed head and/or the "Chancay Interlocking" head-band motif, broad chest, more often separate legs, clearly retain some resemblance with earlier 3-colour geometric or black-and-white figurines (cf. with 1749 to 100 in sg. 1.3.2, 956 to 1333 in sg. 1.3.3). Logically, they should belong to Cornejo's phase 3A. By the same token, figurines with a straight crown and lacking some of the above traits, could belong to phase 3B.

But the evidence of the figurines is conflicting:

- A figurine with rounded, bilobed head (843/1.4.1b), from Lauri grave 2 is indeed dated 3A, as is 839/1.4.1a, from Lauri grave 12, with an only slightly rounded head.
- On the other hand a specimen with slightly rounded head and Chancay "Interlocking" head-dress border (1992/1.4.1a) from Uhle's Lauri grave B1—which on stylistic grounds would be assigned to phase 3A—actually dates to (early) 3B.
- Equally 1998 from Uhle's Lauri grave B2 with a large molded bead necklace (an early trait) has face-paint with curlicues, (reminiscent of Jecuan black-on-white pottery possibly dating to the later part of phase 3). It also dates to 3B.
- 836/1.4.1b from Pisquillo Grande grave 4, with a high, straight head, would be dated to 3B on stylistic grounds, whereas that grave probably dates to phase 3A.
- Of the two figurines excavated by Uhle at Ancón, P64/1.4.1a, with a broad, slightly rounded head, is said to come from "under the strata of the Chancay period [midden] at T". For Strong this means that it comes from the midden strata itself (1925:141) and if the midden represents a time span, the figurine would come from the earlier part of it. The other Ancón figurine (2000/1.4.1b) has a very high head. It is from

Site A, which only contained Chancay pottery, and is listed in Uhle's MS catalogue (vol.VII, p.5) amongst the "objects found in graves on the top of the mound", indicating the end of the Chancay use of that area for burials, therefore possibly, but not necessarily, a late Chancay phase.

There are no other burial associations. If we consider individual features:

- The figurines with relief head-dress border (474, 55, 1579, 1304, and the atypical 1634 and 1917, all in sg.1.4.1a) probably date to early phase 3: 474 has the Chancay "Interlocking" motif which already occurs in early Chancay, the others are all somewhat different from the mainstream. A plain white slip (1634) is usually considered to be late Chancay (cf. the tumbler 4/6475 from Uhle's Lauren grave B2) but the slip here is thick, pinky-white, similar to one that occurs in some Huaura 2.2 figurines. However C4, with a molded decor on its relief headband looks later.
- 842/1.4.1b has circular eyes, which can be an early feature. It also has a partly incised head-dress-border, reminiscent of 834 (Chancay Group 2), a transitional specimen between phases 2 and 3¹.
- Horizontal lines painted on the legs are very common on early figurines, either in bands of two or three colours or as two or three parallel lines (see Chancay sgs. 1.1. to 1.3). They also occur on some late Chancay figurines (1.4.3, 1.6.1) and in Chancay-Huaura (1.5). Here they feature only on six figurines (5 %) e.g. 80, 121, 30, 1360, 65, 487, all in sg. 1.4.1b, one of them from Ancón, two others from Chillón. So the horizontal lines could be a regional or a temporal feature: many of the late Chancay 1.6. figurines with this feature come—like sg.1.4.1b figurines—predominantly from the Ancón/Chillón area.
- The atypical figurines with folded arms in 1.4.1a have none of the early features otherwise associated with folded arms (see Chancay sgs. 1.1) and clearly belong to phase 3.

The following figurines could belong to the end of phase 3 (cf. chronology of Chancay 1.6):

- 1248/sg.1.4.1a, with a "sketchy" face-paint and four head-dress perforations in pairs of two, placed far apart; probably also 359 with three pairs of two perforations, and the related 396 (perforations broken);
- Pendant triangles painted at the back of the head-dress (121, 65/1.4.1b) are also a late feature (cf. 2266, 583 in sg. 1.4.3)
- 475, 1579/1.4.1a and 487, 398/1.4.1b have a feature imitating a genital triangle incised at the back: the same feature occurs on late specimens (cf. 413/sg.1.6.1)
- 412/1.4.1b: thick eye-brows, punctated ear-plugs;
- 1383/1.4.1b, atypical: double incision at waist;

The atypical 6/sg. 1.4.1b belongs to phase 4: molded semi-circular eye-brows, design on nose (see Late Horizon 1.1), applied circular ear-plugs, folded arms, double incision at waist; it is made of one mold, solid. It is the only example of a typical Late Horizon figurine made in black-on-white ware.

¹ The circular eyes of 842 may mean that a different personage is depicted: note the resemblance with 275 (Chancay 5, atypical): circular eyes, thick chin-strap?, spherical pendant on string.

To sum up: on purely stylistic grounds many figurines from sg. 1.4.1a, which share some traits of earlier group 1.3 specimens should be dated to the earlier part of phase 3 (3A), whilst conversely the greater part of the figurines in sg.1.4.1b which show none of these traits would be later (phase 3B). However the dating on stylistic grounds is not borne out by the—admittedly uncertain—Cornejo chronology. So—unless we assume that some specimens may have been heirlooms—we can only say that both sub-groups date mainly to Chancay phase 3, some with specifically late features to phase 4.

As it seems that the sub-groups come—at least partly—from distinct areas, a more accurate dating could throw light on the possible expansion of Chancay influence south to Ancón and the Chillón valley, with important ethno-historical implications.

• **SUB-GROUP 1.4.2: LARGE BLACK-ON-WHITE CUCHIMILCOS**
(HEIGHT ABOVE 50 CM)¹

Table 35

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 352-354

Plates 35-36

Sample: 51 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Homogenous group of large standing females with laterally extended arms. The head is broad, with a rectangular head-dress, generally consisting of a plain dark calotte and painted border band. The facial features are standardised, with large eyes, a small nose and mouth and conchlike ears. Face-paint consists of "specs" and fine-line drawing on the cheeks. The body is fairly naturalistic, often with modelling of the thoracic cage and/or the breasts, the waist, and ~~æ~~ with raised genital triangle. All the specimens are female. The arms are always raised sideways and upwards, the straight legs can show modelling of the calves and/or of the ankle bones. There is no body-paint or clothing.

The figurines have mold-made heads on hand-made? bodies. Many are in mint condition, with a particularly light, yellow-white slip.

Within the group, we distinguish the following groupings:

- 2061 to P76: 25 extremely stereotyped, often nearly identical figures, only differentiated by the head-dress borders (see discussion below);
- P78 to P80: 11 figurines with very long bodies on short legs and feet with molded toes, very different from the grouping above; several also have a high head.

¹ Exceptions: 1419 (41.0 cm), 245 (48.0 cm), both somewhat atypical specimens.

- 1419 to 1924 are obese; notice also the slightly different “specs” (1239 and 460) and arms (460, P81).

DISCUSSION

Special features

A striking trait amongst the stereotyped specimens (see above) is the standardization of the head-dress border: 10 figurines (2061-SAC 458) have a stepped motif with circles, 11 figurines (1850-2164) have a double band, the upper with steps, the lower with broken lines and circles. In contrast, amongst the remaining 30 figurines, there are more than a dozen different borders, admittedly variations on basic designs like “Chancay Interlocking” and broken-lines-with dots¹. Such a variety is also the norm in sgs. 1.4.1a,b. Note that—apart from the standardized designs on the stereotyped specimens—there is no obvious correlation between the appearance of figurines with similar head-dress borders.

Did the borders represent more than just an ornament, dictated by fashion? Possible interpretations are:

- a) a specific textile design linked to a group (ethnic, kinship);
- b) a marker indicating a hierarchical level;
- c) a design linked to the representation of a specific personage.

There is some ethnographic evidence that textile designs are linked to kinship groups. Stephen Hugh-Jones of King's College, Cambridge (personal communication), found that feather work incorporated in the head-dress of some Amazonian tribes is the equivalent to heraldic symbolism in medieval Europe, implying an undeniable kinship link. It is also linked with specific rites and chants—geometric motifs can encode songs—part of an activation, verbalisation and representation of the ancestral tradition. If one were to assume that the border identifies with an ethnic or kinship group, such as an *ayllu*, figurines in one burial should theoretically all have the same band. This is not the case: amongst the *cuchimilcos* from grave Lauri B2 we see three different borders, and a type 2 figurine with yet a fourth design.

The headband could signify a hierarchical level, though there is no ethnographic equivalent for this interpretation.

Lastly, if the large *cuchimilcos* represented a specific personage accompanying the dead in their last voyage, their head-dress—at a certain time and in a certain area—could be identical, as is the case here.

¹ The latter design is probably a simplification of the former.

A unique feature are the mole-like protuberances on the arms of two closely related figurines (460, P81); both also have punctated nipples, a late feature (see below, chronology).

Context

Three figurines (2061, 1994, 1993) were found in graves. There are no data about the interments (see Appendix 3). Two almost identical specimens (2061, 1994) were found in the same grave (Uhle's Lauren grave B2), but we don't know whether this was a multiple burial, with each of the large *cuchimilcos* serving as a possible attendant/mother- or wife-substitute for different individuals. The pristine condition of so many specimens—especially amongst the stereotyped ones— can only mean that they were not used prior to deposition, indeed that they were manufactured specifically as gravegoods. Note however that the head fragment (204) has holes drilled at the back of the neck to tie the broken head to the body (now missing); in that case it is likely that it was in use before being deposited.

The difference in size (over 20 cm) between the largest of the small *cuchimilcos* (1.4.1a, b) and the smallest in this group must mean that the two sub-types had a somewhat different function. However, apart from the difference in size, there are no fundamental iconographic differences with the small *cuchimilcos*, both representing naked females wearing the same type of head-dress. Considering their weight these figures cannot have been toys.

Geographic distribution:

All the provenances are for the Chancay Valley (three certain, three fairly reliable, five unverifiable), except one reliable for Quintay, Huaura Valley.

Chronology

This group can be dated to phase 3—more specifically to phase 3B—by reference to Uhle's gravelots B1 and B2 from Lauri (see Chancay chronology and chronology of 1.4.1 above). The absence of any early traits (cf. sub-group 1.3) confirms a fairly late date for the whole group. Some specimens probably belong to the end of phase 3 or ^{to} phase 4, by comparison with Chancay 1.6 figurines: head-dress perforations in sets of two (1419); punctated nipples (460, P81). 1150, 245, with elongated, stylized bodies and less careful decor (face-paint, head-dress), and a painted genital triangle and horizontal lines across the legs (245) belong to phase 4.

• **SUB-GROUP 1.4.3: “BAROQUE” BLACK-ON-WHITE CUCHIMILCOS**

Table 36

Catalogue: vol.II, pp. 354-355

Plate 37

Sample: 25 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

This group probably represents the final stage of Chancay black-on-white figurine production. The group is characterized by an unusually elaborate decor, often—though not always—rather carelessly executed. Many of the figurines are entirely hand-made. All the *cuchimilcos* are female, with laterally extended arms like the classic specimens, but the head- and body shape, the proportions and the decor are much more varied.

Some groupings are apparent within the sample:

- P82, 2321 are close to 1.4.2 figures, except that they wear clothes.
- 2322 to P85 mostly have rotund, fairly short bodies;
- 572 to P86 have straighter, more elongated bodies, especially 582 to 578.
- 575 and P86 are naked like the classic large *cuchimilcos* (1.4.2), but they have an altogether different, more “baroque” look.

DISCUSSION

Special features, links with other groups

P85 is a unique specimen: the projection on the forehead above the nose resembles headgear with an animal head at its center, common in Moche iconography, but has no parallels on the Central Coast. The pendant earrings are also common in Moche; the unusual necklace with long pendants (also on 572 and on 1315/1.4.1a) has a parallel on a figurine (Fig. 47), with an undeniable North Coast look¹. Similar earrings or necklaces are otherwise unknown on the Central Coast. Tunics with diagonal parallel stripes do occur on early Chancay figurines (see P55/Chancay 1.1.2), though the fillers here are not dots, but stylized fish—also painted on the forehead—a typical Chancay-Huaura and Jecuan motif (see 1.5).



Fig. 47

The atypical P86a has a unique mouth: lips held together by thorns occur on Nasca trophy-heads (real or vessels), but they are not recorded on the Central Coast; besides, this figurine clearly depicts a living human being.

This group shares many traits with Chancay-Huaura and Jecuan (see 1.5):

¹ The figurine has a “fairly reliable” provenance from the Chancay valley!

- Face-paint with curlicues (2244, P83, SAC 359)
- Double "specs" (2242, P83, 698)
- Zoning or face-paint of the mouth and chin (numerous specimens, e.g. P82, 698, etc.)
- Clitoris (P83?, 698), a late trait (see also LH 1.1)
- Applied "belly-button" (583, P 84, P86).

Some of the decorative motifs are fairly unusual: the spiral motif in the face-paint of P84, head-bands etc.

Other unusual features can occur in other Chancay groups:

- the unusual large feet with modelled toenails (cf. 583, 575, P86, P86a with 588 in 1.4.2, 1146 in 1.5.2b, etc.)
- the triple pendant triangles (cf. backs of 583, 2266 with 121 in 1.4.1b)

Context: No data, but probably the same as 1.4.1, 1.4.2.

Geographic distribution:

There are five fairly reliable provenances, all from the same area of the Chancay valley (Lauri, Pisquillo).

Chronology

There are no documented gravelots for this group, but one vessel (Fig. 49) is said to have been associated with 2265. A corresponding shape comes from Horkheimer's Lauri VII, grave 2 (Comejo 1991: Fig.6, top left) and a similar, though not identical decor appears on another vessel from the same grave (ibid: Fig. 9, no.XXXVIII). This grave is dated to phase 3 B, i.e. the end of my phase 3 or even phase 4.

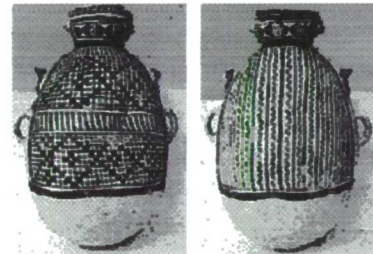


Fig.49

Several figurines show similarities with the Jecuan sub-style: Uhle considered it an early phase of black-on-white, but I believe it to be contemporary with the later part of classic Chancay (see below 1.5.3). Although some features like the zoning of the eyes (SAC 246, 582) and of the cheeks (578) or the circular eyes (578) have early parallels, I believe them to be archaizing traits (the "early" circular eyes are combined with "late" arched eyebrows on 578!). Other features, like the cheek-decor drawn within horizontal lines (1310, P84, SAC 246), the arms starting rather low on the body (154, SAC 359, 583, 578), stripes painted across the legs (1310, P86, 698), the wearing of ear-plugs, are also a late development.

If we consider the stylistic development within Chancay group 1, especially the continuum between larger specimens in sub-groups 1.3 (epigonal-derived and 3-colour geometric) and

1.4.2, the figurines in sub-group 1.4.3 fit best into the end of that sequence, as a decadent form of classic Chancay. The naturalistic figure with its broad chest and modelled legs has given way to a baroque representation with a rotund or exaggeratedly tubular body and often very long or fat legs, some with huge feet (583, 575). The manufacture is often less accomplished, the paintwork sloppy (viz. the drips of paint on 583). One also feels that the potter is no longer familiar with traditional designs (viz. the irregular border bands of 583, 582). Overall: P82 and 2321 may still date to classic phase 3, 2322 to P85 are late phase 3, the remaining specimens (572 to P86) are probably the Chancay valley contemporaries of Late Horizon figurines and therefore date to Chancay phase 4.

SUB-GROUP 1.5: CHANCAY-HUAURA *CUCHIMILCOS*

The figurines of this sub-group are iconographically and technically related to the Huaura figurines. However the wares involved (especially 3-colour geometric and Black-on-white) are typical for the Chancay culture and the overall aspect also differs from Huaura figurines. In publications such figurines are always considered to belong to the Chancay style. The scarce provenances, none of them documented, are fairly evenly divided between the Huaura and Chancay valleys. The broader relationship between Huaura and Chancay figurines is discussed under Huaura figurines in chapter 11.

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• SUB-GROUP 1.5.1: EARLY CHANCAY-HUAURA *CUCHIMILCOS*

Table 37

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 356-357

Plate 38

Sample: 6 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Large standing specimens, with extended arms and completely separate legs; there are two males and four females (two couples). Face- and body-paint or clothing is always present. The Huaura component consists in the occurrence of males and male/female couples and the male head-dress with *picos*, while the shape and proportions of head and body, decorative elements and the wares, especially the 3-colour geometric ware, are specific to the Chancay culture.

DISCUSSION

Special features, links with other groups

- P87 has small lugs on the headdress, reminiscent of Chancay Group 3, but not known in this form on *cuchimilcos* or on Huaura females.

- P89 is shown with stubble on his chin, like P42/P43 in Huaura sg. 2.2.2. The triangles painted around the chin of 1407/1408 are unusual.
- It is interesting to note the decorative traits shared with 674 (Chancay 1.3.1): bird's feet (P89), composite cross with central dot, triangle with appendages, outlining of the umbilicus (1408), broad belt, plain painted band at neck, etc. The specific meander head-dress border (1408) also occurs on 97/1.3.1 and P44/1.3.2.

Context, Geographic distribution: no data.

Chronology

The epigonal-derived tricolour ware (with additional post-fired red face-paint on P88, P89), is common in Chancay phases 1 and 2. The derivative *fleur-de-lis* motif on the head-dress border (P88) is late Middle Horizon in inspiration, whilst the bird's foot body-paint motif on P89 is typical for early Chancay. That and the extended arms date nos. 2253 to P89 to phase 2.

1407/1408 are in typical 3-colour geometric Chancay ware, with such decorative motifs as the composite cross with central dot and the meander head-dress border on the female (1408), whilst the male (1407) features the large circles with central dot which become the hallmark of the Chancay-Huaura males (see below 1.5.2)¹. The overall aspect is closer to classic Chancay, so the later part of phase 2 seems a plausible date.

SUB-GROUP 1.5.2: BLACK-ON-WHITE CHANCAY-HUAURA *CUCHIMILCOS*

- **SUB-GROUP 1.5.2A: STANDARD CHANCAY HUAURA *CUCHIMILCOS***
- **SUB-GROUP 1.5.2B: CHANCAY-HUAURA *CANTORES***
- **SUB-GROUP 1.5.2C: CHANCAY *CUCHIMILCOS* WITH CHANCAY-HUAURA**

FEATURES

Table 37

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 357-361

Plates 38-41

Sample: 61 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

The main iconographic traits—which do not occur on classic Chancay *cuchimilcos* (1.4.1, 1.4.2)—are either Huaura-derived or specific to this sub-group. The Huaura-derived characteristics are the occurrence of males with outsize genitals, and of male/female couples; all-over face-paint and head-dress with *picos* and vertical stripes (males). Other specific features are figurines with an undeformed head (see sg.1.5.2b), male body-paint consisting of

¹ Exceptionally the female 1408 also features circles with central dots—an exclusively male motif—painted in the pubic area.

large circles with central dot or—rarely—of a bird and female body-paint featuring fish. Finally, some traits are partly shared with other Chancay groups: male/female face-paint consisting of zoning of the lower part of the face, a more stylized body, an applied belly-button, the female head-dress shown as a low decorated calotte (no longer stripy as in Huaura, nor plain, with a decorated border band as in Chancay) also occur in the “baroque” 1.4.3 sub-group; two *fajas* crossed over the abdomen can occur in 1.4.1b, but here they are practically standard. A rare feature are female genitals with a prominent clitoris.

Technically the figurines appear generally hand-made (though some may have a mold-made head), with a rougher surface and air-holes in different positions than the majority of classic Chancay *cuchimilcos* (mainly ears, mouth, nose, rarely at the waist). Although the ware is basically black-on-white, the hues are often reddish-brown on a pink-buff grounding; red can be added, mainly in the face-paint. The majority of figurines are very large and exceptionally heavy, many weighing well over 1 kg. This may partly be due to the fact that some—but not all—are filled with sand, perhaps to give them greater stability.

The group is divided into three sub-groups, with further groupings within some of those:

Sub-group 1.5.2a:

The largest sub-group (41 specimens) with the most clearly Huaura-derived features. There are 19 males and 22 females¹, including seven, possibly nine, couples. The men have plain or stripy hats, generally topped by three *picos*. The mouth is very often a hole. Note also traits like the modelling of the thoracic cage (different from classic *cuchimilcos*), the characteristic applied belly-button (e.g. 29).

A first grouping (155 to 1811) is characterised by fairly naturalistic figurines with all-over face-paint (males), prominent hip-bones on some males; note also the more elaborate “specs” on 1235 to P94, shared with the Jecuan sub-style (1.5.3). The next grouping (1445/1446 to 1741/1740) is more stylized, with excessively flat or globular specimens; finally SAC 373 to P97 also share some “Jecuan-style” (1.5.3) traits (triple “specs”, molded and/or outlined fingers, lines across the abdomen), whilst the body-shape is closer to the “*Cantores*” (1.5.2b).

Sub-group 1.5.2b: “Cantores”

Includes the biggest figurine of the study sample (584: 76 cm). The 16 figurines (10 or 11 males, 5 females¹, one couple) are associated by linkage. The first three figurines (584, P98, P99), with their trapezoidal head and wide open mouth are obviously related to the female P100, who in turn forms a couple with the round-headed male P101. This allows us to include

¹ Theses figures include the atypical figurines.

in this sub-group a number of round-headed males (some without cranial deformation and/or with one-or two *picos* hats), which share characteristics such as the large circle-and-dot body-paint and the open mouth with 1.5.2a. Some specimens have exceptionally large air-holes under the armpits. Because of their wide-open mouth these figurines have been called *cantores* (Lavalle and Lang 1982).

The atypical and associated figurines in sgs.1.5.2a and 2b have some Chancay-Huaura features, however unusual they may be!

Sub-group 1.5.2c: Chancay figurines with Chancay-Huaura features

These figurines have a typical Chancay look, especially in profile, but three are male with a Huaura-type head-dress, very high on 576; 1259 has also Huaura-derived cheek zoning. The heavily built female (456) is included here because of its similarity with the males and its dissimilarity with the classic Chancay *cuchimilco* (1.4.1 or 1.4.2).

DISCUSSION

Special features

Many special features have been listed in the Group Characteristics (see also catalogue). But a special mention must be made of the *pronounced sexuality* of these figurines, with outsize (though not erect) penises on the males and a modelled clitoris on many females. This is in contrast to the classic *cuchimilco* with its underscored female attributes.

Another interesting feature is the *gender differentiation of the body-paint*: fish are painted on the arms or legs of some females, birds appear on the chest of some males. Rostworowski links the two symbols in the goddess Urpayhuachac, described as “...creadora de los peces, relacionada con las aves marinas o guaneras, y adorada por los pescadores” (1973:20). She sees this goddess in a figurine with *both* a fish and a bird painted on its chest (1062, Chancay 1.1.2). In early and classic *cuchimilcos* birds are often linked to females: painted in the pubic area (e.g. 1892/1.3.2), as head-dress border motifs (1251, 1430/1.4.1a) or in the face-paint (1547/ 1.4.1a). What is significant in the Chancay-Huaura figurines is that the two symbolic elements, the bird and the fish, are sex-specific and separate. The fertility symbolism linking female and fish is also strongly expressed in Nasca figurines (Morgan 1988), but as yet the equivalent of man and bird has not come to my attention

Note the sexual ambivalence of P103/1.5.2b: the ear-plugs, the vestigial “specs” and the outlined genital triangle are female attributes (cf. 584/1.5.2b), accompanied by male genitals, awkwardly located just below the waist. Other rare traits on the same specimen are: the face-paint (inverted triangle on the forehead, circles on cheeks) and the necklace with pendants

(otherwise shown on females). This specimen, which does not look like a fake, may represent a hermaphrodite, not unknown in pre-Columbian Peru (Cabieses 1974: vol.1, p.111). Vestigial "specs" also occur on another male in this sub-group (P102/1.5.2b).

What can be the meaning of the *open mouth*? Some figurines in 1.5.2a have pursed lips, with only a small opening, perhaps depicting the way Calancha describes the act of praying ("mocha") "...hacer ciertos sonidos con los labios, como quien besa...". This may have developed gradually into an open mouth. No other Chancay figurine group nor, to my knowledge, Chancay face-necks ever have open mouths. But they do occur during the Late Horizon. Also of interest is that three *cantores*, possibly more, have no cranial deformation.

Two male *cantores* (P101, P102) have a narrow rectangular projection on their left temple, a unique and unexplained attribute. On 581, also a *cantor*, a similar feature looks like a band tied around the head.

Links with other groups

As we have seen, Chancay-Huaura figurines share a number of traits with Huaura figurines. They certainly express a tradition somewhat different from classic Chancay. The differences are not only iconographic but also technological (heavier, rougher paste, different position of air-holes, differences in colour). If we assume that there is no significant time difference between classic Chancay and Chancay-Huaura of phase 3 and if both were manufactured in the same area (see below), we must examine models which could explain such differences:

a) The specimens were manufactured in the Huaura valley and exported: a possible model only if this sub-group (including related vessels) is exclusive to the Huaura area. Considering that the Chancay-Huaura sub-group is always classified as Chancay, we don't really know what pottery is referred to as "Chancay" in a Huaura Valley context. Furthermore this model would not explain the subtle differences in style, especially of the earlier specimens (1.5.1), nor the fact that some actual Huaura figurines (Huaura 2.2, 2.3, 4) could be contemporary of the Chancay-Huaura figurines of phase 3: they would represent the figurines produced in the Huaura valley at that time.

b) Chancay-Huaura figurines were manufactured by Huaura immigrants in the Chancay and Ancón areas: Rostworowski reports that at the time of the Conquest, the Chancay Valley was under the control of the *curaca* of Huaura (1978:127) and that he dispatched *mitmaes* to Chancay. We cannot know how far back in time this organisation goes and what implications it has regarding the ethnic composition of the population, but it might provide a clue to the co-existence of the two stylistic traditions.

c) The figurines were part of a cult or mythical tradition, involving a male/female couple, originating in the Huaura valley towards the end of the Middle Horizon (see Huaura 2, chapter 11), a cult which had spread southwards by the Late Intermediate. Their iconography and even their manufacture is still determined by the original religious context.

d) A different function (see below, context).

Context

There is no documented context for any specimen in this group, but like other *cuchimilcos* this sub-group probably comes from graves. However the exceptional heaviness of these figurines and the fact that, unlike the classic *cuchimilcos*, many were found filled with sand, presumably to give them stability, suggest that they may have been used in another context, prior to burial. A different function could be yet another explanation for the differences between this sub-type and classic Chancay figurines.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón
Chancay 1.5.2a			
Certain	2		
Fairly reliable	1	1	
Unverifiable		7	3
Chancay 1.5.2b			
Certain			
Fairly reliable		3	
Unverifiable	1	2	
Chancay 1.5.2c			
Certain			
Fairly reliable	2		
Unverifiable			

Of the nine certain or fairly reliable provenances (under 15 % of the figurines!), five are from Huacho, four from Chancay. Overall there are six provenances for Huaura against thirteen for Chancay. This would indicate that the majority of these figurines were made in the Chancay valley, though there are really too few provenances to be certain. The (unverifiable) provenances from Ancón are not corroborated by the material excavated at the site. There are no provenances at all for the Chillón valley.

Chronology

In the absence of gravelots, the main basis for dating are Chancay features such as the use of the bichrome black-on-white ware, combined with extended arms, the appearance of "specs", lack of large outlined genital triangle and Huaura features such as the phasing out—on the females—of the stripy head-dress and the appearance of short, truncated *picos* on the male head-dress (cf. chronology of Huaura 2 and Chancay 1.4):

Sub-group 1.5.2a dates mainly to phase 3, probably to the later part. Some traits, which in typical Chancay figurines tend to be early (circular eyes) or early *and* late (horizontal lines across the legs) appear here together with such phase 3 features as the crossed *fajas* or the head-dress with truncated *picos* (e.g. P90, P91). The many features shared with 1.4.3 (head-dress shape and decor, face-paint, some clothing) also indicate a late date. Other features like a border band with a broken-lines-and-multiple-dots design (1235) or double incisions at the waist (1235, 1236) are also late (cf. chronology Chancay 1.6). The atypical 776, with its "baroque" body, 2274, 2241 with no head-dress—a common Late Horizon feature (cf. LH Group 1)—large eye-brows and eyes definitely date to Chancay phase 4

Sub-group 1.5.2b/Cantores: most figurines in this group are "baroque" both in shape and decor. Note the vestigial triple "specs" on 584 and P103, as if the artist no longer understood this feature; the modelled toe-nails (1146) are also late (cf. 583, 575/1.4.3b); the absence of head-dress (1146), the incised *mechones* (1866), are also LH features. The atypical 797 with its unusual loin cloth and appendages could even be early colonial. The atypical 457 has an applied head-dress border: this could be early, but here it lacks perforations (cf. 675/1.1.1, 794/1.1.2, and its extended arms also point to phase 3. The sub-group dates to late phase 3/phase 4.

Sub-group 1.5.2c: The figurines have a typical classic Chancay look and—in the absence of other diagnostic features—must be assigned to phase 3.

• **SUB-GROUP 1.5.3 : A CHANCAY-HUAURA VARIANT: *CUCHIMILCOS* OF THE JECUAN SUB-STYLE**

Table 38 Catalogue: Vol. II, pp. 362-362 Plate 41

Sample: 12 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS, DISCUSSION

This sub-group of 12 figurines (all female) represents a distinctive sub-style. The name suggested for it comes from the resemblance with pottery excavated by Uhle at Jecuan, Chancay valley, in particular a similar face-neck (Kroeber 1926b:Pl. 81). Its inclusion into the Chancay-Huaura group needs some justification:

The figurines are related to classic Chancay in that they are mold-made and of the typical Chancay ware. They are similar in size to the small classic *cuchimilco* (1.4.1a,b) and many also have a typical Chancay body-shape, especially in profile; finally there are no males in the

sub-group. But some specific features—not necessarily all occurring on each specimen—distinguish the figurines from classic Chancay specimens: mold-made features such as fingers or bead necklaces; painted decor such as the outline of the fingers, parallel lines across the abdomen. They are also much heavier and less than half of them have the typical air-holes at the waist.

At the same time many Jecuan-style figurines share some Chancay-Huaura characteristics such as the head-dress decor (mainly criss-cross design); more elaborate "specs" (usually triple, often with curlicues); the open mouth (cf. 1936, 111 with SAC 431/1.5.2a and 584,P101/1.5.2b). The diagonally crossed *fajas* and zoning of the lower cheeks, sometimes with a line above, are traits that can occur in classic Chancay, but are more typical of Chancay-Huaura.

Some Jecuan sub-style specimens also occur amongst Chancay type 2 figurines (2.3.2).

Context

No data.

Geographic distribution

There is only one (unverifiable) provenance from Miraflores, Chancay.

Chronology:

The black-on-white pottery excavated by Uhle at Jecuan (his site C), shows some traits (curlicues, stylized fish) which occur on these figurines. Even more clearly related is the only published face-neck from the site (Kroeber 1926b:Pl.81E), with its triple "specs". Unfortunately no figurines appear in Uhle's published Jecuan material. Uhle considered the ceramics from Jecuan to represent "...the older and middle phases of the White-and-black pottery of Chancay" (Kroeber 1926b:293). However the figurines in this sub-group lack some features occurring on early black-and-white figurines with extended arms (1.3.3) such as facial "zoning", all-over body-paint of small motifs, a painted rather than raised or incised genital triangle. We have also seen that some Chancay and Chancay-Huaura figurines with Jecuan-related features (cf. chronology of Chancay 1.4.3 and 1.5.2a) could be quite late. Three Jecuan-style figurines have five head-dress perforations, also a late feature. So the figurines of the Jecuan sub-style date to Chancay phase 3, probably to the later part of that phase.

SUB-GROUP 1.6: *CUCHIMILCOS* OF CHANCAY PHASES 3 AND 4 IN RED OR BLACK WARES

Unlike in most other groups, one of the main criteria used to classify this group has been the provenance. The aim was to establish whether the stylistic and technical differences could be explained as regional variants and to examine their relationship with the main stream Chancay culture, as represented by the classic black-on-white ware. The resulting classification produced three fairly discrete sub-groups, the third one especially representing a different stylistic trend.

• SUB-GROUP 1.6.1: FIGURINES IN RED WARE

Table 39 Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.363-365 Plates 41-43

Sample: 56 figurines

• SUB-GROUP 1.6.2: FIGURINES IN BLACK OR BLACK-SLIPPED WARES

Table 40 Catalogue: Vol. II, pp. 365-366 Plate 44

Sample: 28 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Varied figurines, clearly related to the classic black-on-white *cuchimilcos*, the differences being mainly in the manufacturing techniques and the wares (see Discussion). The quality of the figurines is less consistent than in classic Chancay: it can be of the highest standard but also very poor.

Both sub-groups 1.6.1 and 1.6.2 contain small and large *cuchimilcos*, but the size of the sample and the less clearly defined differences make the subdivisions used in sub-group 1.4 inapplicable here. Nor does the distinction between broad and high heads, used to subdivide sub-group 1.4.1 into 1.4.1a and 1.4.1b, apply, as there is no correlation between the head proportions and other iconographic elements. But differences in the manufacturing techniques (two molds, mold- and hand-made specimens and especially the new technique of one frontal mold only) is reflected in the listing of the figurines, the provenance being an important criterium of classification in each sub-group.

The figurines are standing, with extended arms and straight legs. Exceptions: seven figurines are sitting, four figurines have folded arms. There are seven hunchbacks. There are no males and nearly all the figurines are clearly shown to be females.

The shape of the head and body are generally quite similar to classic black-on-white Chancay, but there are a number of differences or innovations: the classic face-paint, with

“specs” are incised). Although the facial features are similar, many specimens have large semi-circular modelled eye-brows. As far as the body is concerned, the basic shape is similar to the classic *cuchimilcos*, variations occurring in function of the size. The main innovation here is that the genital triangle is often incised, instead of modelled.

The majority of figurines wear the typical rectangular Chancay headdress. But the decorative border band is often much broader and is mostly incised rather than painted; there are also changes in the decorative motifs; on about 37% (i.e. 31 out of a total 83) the headband is missing altogether. The number of perforations is also different with many more specimens having four or six perforations, especially in the red wares. As in classic Chancay clothing is not shown. But many figurines now wear incised circular ear-plugs and/or bulky necklaces unknown in classic Chancay.

Although some figurines date to phase 3— even to the early part of that phase—the majority belong to a time of transition and to phase 4. A figurine with an undoubtedly Chancay look, but incorporating all the late features is 369 (Fig.50): head-dress with incised border band and six perforations disposed in three pairs; semi-circular eye-brows, no face paint; punctated nipples, double incision at the waist, double incision marking the vulva; painted lines across the legs (an early feature reappearing in phase 4); large applied ear-plugs with incised cross-and-dot motif, bulky necklace with ties hanging down the back.



Fig.50

DISCUSSION

Special features, links with other groups

Ten black ware or black-slipped figurines (1.6.2) have red and white or yellow post-fired paint rubbed into the incisions. This ware is similar to that of Early Horizon Ancón figurines (see chapter 5: Ancón Sub-group 1). An obvious explanation for the emergence of this unusual ware is that the late dwellers of Ancón came across some of the earlier pottery, liked the look of it and copied it. Like in the earlier group, the ware can be both reduced-fired and polished to a high gloss or oxidized, with a black slip. There is also one red slipped specimen with red and white incrustations (348 in 1.6.1).

2257(sg.1.6.2) is extremely puzzling: it has an undeniable Chancay look, especially because of the typical head-dress, but the overall shape and the decor of incised circles is very similar to that of the “Cats” dating to the late Middle Horizon (see Chapter 10, Group 6.1). Other figurines belonging to “Cats” also show some Chancay traits. Either this figurine is also an

imitation of the earlier type or the “Cats” group has a very long time span or my suggested dating for the group is incorrect. The “Birds”, a related sub-group (Chapter 10, Group 6.2) are definitely found associated with late MH pottery.

1455, a sitting hunchback, is unique: it has an undeformed head and a curious head-dress (or hairstyle showing plaits?), descending down the back.

Many specimens, especially those made of one (frontal) mold only, including the figurines with folded arms, are closely related to non-Chancay LH figurines. The decision to include them here is based on the specifications discussed in the Chancay chronology.

Context

A number of figurines come from graves (see Appendix 3), including those excavated by Reiss and Stübel and those from Uhle's excavations in and around Marquez, Chillón valley. The latter probably come from cementeries located on or around earlier *huacas*, re-used as burial grounds during the late Late Intermediate and the Late Horizon. Note that 2013, 1595 were associated with infants, 235 comes from a sewing basket, 2063 was also found with weaving implements, as well as two cats' heads and the jaw of a sea lion! 384 was wrapped in a textile with another figurine. P105 comes from a refuse layer at Maranga.

The large black *cuchimilco* P109/sg.1.6.2 was found near the surface (0.85 m) of Huaca 18 at Pando, (Maranga). It had a string tied around its neck and was covered with *pacae* leaves; it was not part of a burial, but appeared associated with two storage pits, mainly containing maize. At distance of 2.60 m. but on the same level, was a pen for guinea-pigs, containing guinea-pigs' droppings. On the basis of these associations the figurine is seen as a fertility goddess! (Belcore and Obando 1970:160).

Most of the large *cuchimilcos* are fairly stable. Unlike some large *cuchimilcos* in sub-group 1.4.2 all appear to have been used prior to deposition.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Chillón Valley	Rimac Valley
Sub-group 1.6.1					
Certain			4	5	
Fairly reliable	1 Supe + 1 Salinas, Huacho?	3 (+1 Salinas, Chancay?)	2	15 ¹	2 near Lima
Unverifiable	3	1	2		3 Pachacamac
Sub-group 1.6.2					
Certain			1		2 Maranga
Fairly reliable	3	4		3	2 near Lima
Unverifiable		1 (Pacasmayo?)	3		1

Taking both sub-groups together we see that out of 47 certain or fairly reliable provenances 14.9% come from Ancón, 49 % from the Chillón Valley, 10.5 % from the Rimac Valley and only 25 % from Chancay, Huaura or Supe. That is a total of over 75 % outside the Chancay heartland.

Note however that—as far as black- or black-slipped wares are concerned—a slightly larger proportion (with 50% of the certain and fairly reliable provenances) comes from Chancay or Huaura. In particular most of the black figurines with post-fired incrustations come from that area.

Of the three unverifiable attributions for Pachacamac, two are highly unlikely (1437, 1827), but the third (123), a figurine with folded arms and low head-dress could be correct.

On the whole, we are dealing in this group with some of the material that Kroeber (1926c) calls “Sub-Chancay”. The distribution outside the Chancay valley confirms my suggestion that black-and white figurines went on being produced in the Chancay valley during phase 4 (LH).

Chronological position:

Only three figurines come from datable gravelots, none of them very specific (see Chancay Chronology and Appendix 3). Two roughly made figurines, 2013 (from Uhle’s Ancón grave T2) and 1595 (from Kroeber’s excavation at Marquez) date to late phase 3, whilst the small 2063 (from Uhle’s Ancón E1) dates to phase 4.

So this group must also be dated on the basis of stylistic traits:

Sub-group 1.6.1:

- 145, with its semi-circular headdress and only two perforations could date to the earlier part of phase 3. The roughly made 1522, 1542, 1418 and 407, also with a rounded head-dress appear to be later: 1522 has six head-dress perforations, 1542 has a typical phase 3 profile. 1418, with two perforations and high, slightly laterally placed ear-plugs (cf. with 1018/Huaura 2.1!) could be early, though the overall feel is

¹ A further two figurines UPMP 33568, 33762) from Huaca Paraíso, Chillón Valley, acquired by Uhle have not been included as their features are too sketchy.

late. 407 with its bad workmanship, unusual face and rectangular genital triangle could even date to phase 4.

- 230, 124, 1358, 1370, P104, 348, 1748, 106, 373, 2318 all belong to phase 3. 413, 1357, 414, 479, 1317 are border-line case between phases 3 and 4, considering some of the late traits listed below.
- The remaining figurines with such late traits as manufacture with one mold only, an incised or punctated decor, and features such as the emphasized eye-brows, head-dress perforations in sets of two or three, punctated nipples, double incisions at the waist, necklaces, ear-plugs (the latter very rare in phase 3) date to phase 4, i.e. the Late Horizon. Note also late Chancay designs such as the broken-lines-with multiple-dots (e.g. 841), instead of the traditional broken-line-and-dot; lines painted across the legs (e.g. 369, 432), an early feature, revived during phase 4 (see Chancay 1.4.2, 1.4.3). 1523 is a border-line case with a typical Chancay head-dress but with the folded arms and feet joined by a “bridge”, typical for non-Chancay LH figurines.

Sub-group 1.6.2:

- The sitting hunchbacks 1745 and 781, with raised arms and extended legs, wearing a semi-circular head-dress with raised border band belong to early phase 3 (cf. 1917/1.4.1a). Note that later sitting figures always have folded legs.
- 283, 1387 to 502 are fairly traditional looking figurines of phase 3; 1440 less so, but the top of the head-dress is missing, which could explain its unusual aspect.
- Most of the black figurines with post-fired incrustations still have the classic Chancay look, including specs and lower cheek decor; but several are made of one mold or hand-made and the decor is incised. So they probably date to the end of phase 3. P105¹ comes from a refuse layer at Huaca III, Maranga, which is dated to the earlier phases of the Lima style (Jijón and Caamaño 1949:15, 18, 494). In fact the figurine clearly belongs to late Chancay (late phase 3 or 4?). The unusual 2257, an imitation of the late MH “Cat” (?), must be of the same late Chancay date (see above).
- Of the large cuchimilcos only 574, and possible 509 and 1421 belong to the end of phase 3, while the rest belong to phase 4: they have such late traits as semi-circular eye-brows, ear-plugs and/or, incised headbands. Note also the low arms and the head-dress perforations, either numerous (16 on P108, 6 on P109) or disposed in pairs (P107).

• SUB-GROUP 1.6.3: A CHILLÓN SUB-STYLE ?

Table 41

Catalogue: vol.II, pp.367-368

Plate 45

Sample: 9 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Small group of fairly large figurines with a rotund body and long straight eye-brows; only one figurine is small and flat, but has similar eye-brows. One figurine has two sets of arms. Four of the figurines come from Marquez, Chillón Valley, three of them from Uhle's

¹ P105, that is Jijón and Caamaño 1949:471 and Lám. CIII, no.5, is in fact the fourth object from the left, no.3 having been left out.

excavations in what he calls "the southern corner". The figurines are mostly hand-made and hollow, in red- or black ware.

DISCUSSION

The Chillón valley, which plays a somewhat marginal role in figurine production, is generally more closely linked to the Northern sector (Ancón, Chancay) than to the neighbouring Rimac valley. At the end of the Late Intermediate it is still strongly influenced by the Chancay style, with a very similar iconography, even though the local pottery now consists of red- or black ware: the former being what Kroeber calls "Sub-Chancay", the latter often found in association with it (1926c).

Although sub-group 1.6.3 is clearly affiliated to the Chancay style it is different enough from the contemporary Chancay and "Sub-Chancay" *cuchimilcos* of the lower Chillón to stand out as an autochthonous sub-style. Dillehay (n.d.) combining a number of ethnohistorical studies, especially those by Rostworowski (1970; 1973; 1974) and Murra (1972), with archaeological data, has tried to trace the various ethnic groups settled in the valley between 1200 and 1500. He states (n.d.:10) that although the ceramic styles in the lower and middle valley are basically similar, each distinct ethnic territory or group of settlements shows subtle decorative differences. The mouth of the Chillón was occupied by the Chuquitunga. The question is whether this ethnic group can be sub-divided into yet smaller units to account for stylistic differences in the Marquez area—as shown in the figurine material—or whether this sub-style is simply the work of one potter or group of potters.

Special features:

827 has two sets of arms (the folded arms are applied, very small, one is missing), an unusual, though not unique, trait on so late a specimen (cf. 410/Chancay 2.3).

Context

No data, but very likely funerary (see above). Note that 247, 466 and 1467, from Marquez (the red ware 1466 and black ware 1467 from the same *huaca*) have both arms broken. This may have a ritual significance, but could equally be a manufacturing defect.

Geographic distribution

Three certain provenances are for Uhle's "Huaca at the South Corner of Marquez", Chillón valley; a further fairly reliable provenance is also for Marquez. 827 is deposited amongst Horkheimer's Chancay material at the MPCS, but is not numbered, so its provenance is uncertain.

Chronology

The majority of figurines in this sub-group obviously belong to Chancay phase 4, with such features as the incised headband, punctated nipples and a double incised waist-line, all featured on 1467. This specimen in turn shares an overall resemblance with others, such as 247, and 1466. Note that 247 and 1466 have air-holes below the ears, an unusual location—related to non-Chancay LH figurines, where air-holes are often placed at the shoulders—as well as at the waist, typical for Chancay; 827 has *only* air-holes at the shoulders, but has been included here because of the resemblance to this sub-group. Another late feature are the head-dress perforations in sets of two (827, 1545). The one-mold solid figurine (1941) is also typical for phase 4.

Two figurines are more problematic: P110 has a rounded crown, P111 a marked bilobation, both early features. But the facial features, especially the “composite eyes” and conch-like ears, and the incised genital triangle as well as the general resemblance¹ with the group—especially the long eye-brows—make a convincing case for a late date.

GROUP 2: CHANCAY FIGURINES WITH ELONGATED HEAD

- **SUB-GROUP 2.1: EARLY FIGURINES WITH ELONGATED HEAD AND FOLDED ARMS**
- **SUB-GROUP 2.2: EARLY FIGURINES WITH ELONGATED HEAD AND EXTENDED ARMS**
- **SUB-GROUP 2.3: CLASSIC BLACK-ON-WHITE FIGURINES WITH ELONGATED HEAD**
- **SUB-GROUP 2.4: FIGURINES WITH ELONGATED HEAD IN RED OR BLACK WARE**
- **SUB-GROUP 2.5: SPECIAL FIGURINES WITH ELONGATED HEAD.**

Tables 42-47

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 368-376

Plates 45-50

Sample: 109 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Figurines characterised by an elongated head deformation. 79 figurines are standing, 30 are sitting, but there are no other traits specifically linked with the posture. All except three specimens are probably female (the sex is not indicated on 28 figurines). Although there are differences in the aspect and workmanship between specimens², group 2 is on the whole more homogenous than group 1. Like in group 1 some early and some late specimens have folded

¹ The flipper-like hands and unusual small feet on P111 are said to be restaurations.

² One must not attach too much importance to such differences: in grave 4, Lauri, excavated by Horkheimer, rather poor specimens like 837, 838, 845 were found inside the same *fardo* as the well-made 840.

arms, the rest have extended arms. There are only two specimens with two sets of arms which clearly belong to phase 3.

The classic black-on-white group 2 figurines (2.3.1) differ from group 1.4 in many respects: the elongated head shape, the features, especially the eyes, which tend to be larger and often rounder, the face-paint—mainly tearmarks, often shown as short broad double lines not linked to the eyes, while "specs" and lower cheek decor are extremely rare—and the clothing. This consists of a black tunic, often with a wide patterned belt (on some figurines the clothing covers the whole body), with large circular *tupos* at the shoulders, 28 figurines carry a load on their back, mostly a patterned bag, attached to the forehead by a tump-line, four figurines carry a child, a further two cradle a child on their lap.

The figurines of the Jecuan sub-style (2.3.2) and the black ware figurines (2.4.2) are more closely related to their equivalents in group 1 (1.5.3, 1.6.2), with similar clothing and/or body- and face-paint. The red ware specimens (2.4.1) and the "specials" (2.5) are quite different from the rest of Group 2 and from Group 1.

Most figurines are mold-made and hollow, with air-holes as in group 1 (depending on the phases). About 10% of recorded specimens are hand- and mold-made, another 6% are made of one mold only.

DISCUSSION

Special features

Early representations of elongated heads already occur at the end of the Middle Horizon (see Huaura group 3). They depict the so-called *deformación por llautu*, typical for the Sierra (Weiss 1962), but practically unknown on the coast¹. Diez de San Miguel (quoted by Weiss and Rojas Ponce 1968:307) explains that this deformation was carried out "...solo a fin de que cuando sean hombres se les encajen en las cabezas unas caperuzas largas y angostas...de manera que en lugar de hacer las caperuzas conforma a las cabezas, hacen las cabezas al talle de las caperuzas."

The differences in the head shape, the features and the face-paint, as well as the specific clothing and *tupos*, associated with the bag which many figurines carry on their back, leads me to identify these figurines as "foreigners" from the Sierra. If one compares the facial traits of some of the large group 2 figurines (849, 585/sg.2.3) with their equivalent in group 1 (1994 and others in 1.4.2), it becomes clear that they are meant to represent different physical types. It is

¹ In a study of Late Intermediate Period skeletal material from the Central Coast only 5 out of 274 skulls, i.e. less than 2% showed this deformation (Reichlen 1982:382).

possible that differences in the face-paint also mirror the real face-paint of coastal and highland people. As regards the decorative motifs on headbands, tump-lines and belts, there is little difference between the two types, though some of the belt-motifs do not occur on group 1 *cuchimilcos* (P113, 2250 (back)/2.3.1)¹. Felipe de Medina, active in the extirpation of idolatry, describes a famous shrine at Choque Ispana, near Huacho, a local pilgrimage much visited by the *serranos*, with separate entrances for them and their wives. "Hallé...un carnerito de la tierra que llaman mamallama por el aumento de ellos y que tengan los serranos que traer mas de este género, para que sirvan en sus sacrificios y de aqui se verifica y de auer hallado *los idolos pequeños vestidos a lo serrano* [my italics] que este adoratorio era general y común así para los de la sierra como para los de los llanos" (quoted by Krzanowski (1991d:240).

The group 2 personage appears to go far back in time. Three Nieveria style vessels from



Fig. 51



Fig. 52

Vista Alegre, Rimac Valley, show one or other

of the attributes characteristic of this group. A sitting figure (Fig.51) wears the typical *tupos* and large belt; another (Fig.52) with the typical belt, but without *tupos*, is breastfeeding a child (a theme which only occurs in group 2!); a third (Fig.53), with belt, *tupos* and an elongated head, carries a bag on its back.



Fig. 53

According to M.Rostworowski (personal communication) the personage represented may be the mythical Raiguana or Mama Raiguana who reigned over all staple plants which she reserved for her offsprings. In one particular



version of the myth, an eagle carries off Raiguana's child until she agrees to distribute the fruits of the earth (Rostworowski 1983:73).

Another, more tenuous link between this personage and Pachamama is found in a creation myth centered on the *nevado* "La Viuda" at the headwaters of the Chancay and Chillón valleys. Here the Earth Mother Pachamama, struggling to raise her twins after the death of their father Pachacamac, is eventually killed by the highland God Wakon and changed into the *Nevado*. This is a different version of the creation myth involving a couple (twins, brother and sister, man and wife?) centered on Vegeta, Huaura valley, in which Pachacamac plays a negative role

¹ The motifs on the bags are very varied, but we have nothing to compare them with in group 1.

(see Huaura 2, Discussion)¹. In a village at the foot of "La Viuda" three monoliths were still



Fig. 54

worshipped in the 1920s. One of them resembled a woman carrying a load on her back and was specifically said to represent Pachamama, carrying her twins (Kill n.d.: 83). There is a discrepancy, because our woman carries a single child. However the tearmarks, very common on group 2 figurines and the doleful appearance of the two figurines carrying a child on their lap may point to some such creation myth, involving a suffering mother. In this context one must also recall Gutierrez de Santa Clara (1963/1548:231) who specifies that—contrary to the images of other gods—the Earth idol

(Pachamama?) was made of pottery. It is interesting that—whilst group 1 figurines are never seen on face-necks (features like the head-dress, face-paint or other ornaments are always quite different)—representations similar to group 2 figurines do appear on face-necks. The head is not elongated, probably because it forms the spout of the vessel, but many representations have the same tearmarks, similar clothing and textile patterns (see Fig. 54 holding a child; Lavalley and Lang 1982:70).

Some of the face-necks, with a sling? and large disk ornament on their head may represent males (c.f. Lavalley and Lang 1982:71 upper and lower right). All carry a load (vessels, llamas and other animals) on their backs. Like the figurines, they appear to represent foreigners or travellers. One, with different clothing, and large ear-pendants, carrying a parrot and a monkey, may represent a traveller coming from the rain-forest



Fig. 55

(cf. Lavalley and Lang 1982:71, lower left). Note also a figure, originally part of a vessel (Fig 55) with an elongated head and head-dress adorned with a large conch, which also carries a bag on its back..

We find a similar head-dress with conch ornament on two of the large males in 2.5 (1747, 2190). These have an elongated head, but do not carry a load. One of them is a hunchback with an unusual representation of the spine. On vessels the conch also appears on the head-dress of Chancay attendants (Lavalley and Lang 1982:54 left, 83). These figures—identified as attendants by their head-dress (see Chancay group 4) are part of a whistling vessel and one of them plays a musical instrument. The conch itself may also have been used as one. One

¹ A myth regarding the origin of food and still recounted in the Pampas region, actually blends the two stories (Rostworowski 1983:74).

possible interpretation therefore, combining the foreign origin with the role of attendant, is that the males of group 2.5 represent slaves, perhaps musicians in the service of a Chancay lord.

Context

Eight figurines come from documented graves (see Appendix 3). Amongst these 837, 838, 845, 840 and another unrecorded figurine (La 4 LI) were found inside the same *fardo*: all belong to sg. 2.3.1, whereas 1996/2.3.1 from Uhle's grave B2 at Lauri was associated with four group 1 and one group 3 figurine. Three further figurines (237, P117, P118) were excavated by Reiss and Stübel in the Ancón necropolis. There are no data about the age and sex of the burials.

P118 was attached to the neck of a small gourd container (Reiss and Stübel 1880-1889:vol.III, Pl.82, fig.2, caption). The description reminds of containers for the chalk used in coca-smoking. The figurine must have served as an amulet.

As in group 1.4.2 some of the large, better made figurines are in mint condition and may have been specifically produced as grave goods.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura V.	Chancay V.	Ancón	Chillón V.	Others
Chancay 2.1-2.2					
Certain		1			
Fairly reliable	2			1	
Unverifiable		1			
Chancay 2.3					
Certain	1	7	1	1	
Fairly reliable	1	8			
Unverifiable	2	4	4		1 near Lima
Chancay 2.4-2.5					
Certain	1		2		
Fairly reliable	3	1	1	3	
Unverifiable	1	3	1		

Of a total of 34 certain or fairly reliable provenances 25 (73.5 %) are from the Chancay and Huaura valleys against 4 (11.8%) from Ancón and 5 (14.7 %)—of which only one (3%) is certain—from the Chillón valley. This strengthens the argument that the figurines may have been linked to a pilgrimage of people from the Sierra to a shrine in the Huaura valley (see above, special features). But note that—as in sg.1.6—red- and black ware specimens (sg. 2.4) tend to come from the Ancón and Chillón area.

Chronology

The chronology is based on traits discussed and dated under Chancay group 1 figurines:

Sub-group 2.1:

Like Chancay group 1 the early group 2 figurines have folded arms. They are assigned to Chancay mainly because of the wares (epigonal-related, 3-colour geometric and black-on-white), but they obviously have common origins with Huaura-related figurines with elongated head, especially with 851 (Huaura 3). Early traits also found in both Huaura and early Chancay group 2 figurines include: circular eyes, overall face-paint or zoning of the eyes and cheeks, folded arms, often with a painted outline, hands with three fingers, horizontal lines across the legs, modelling of the knees, outlined genital triangle, sometimes with filler-elements (see the typical 3-colour bird feet motif on 357); necklace of large molded beads; slip or decor applied in front only, air-holes behind the upper arms. The ^{sub}group therefore dates to Chancay late phase 1 and phase 2.

However, I have doubts regarding the dating of 473: it has many early traits (see above) and altogether an early look; but the bag or perhaps animal skin it carries at the back is similar to that of 1187, 410, 139 (2.3.1, see Pl.48) which are undoubtedly late. Another possibly late trait of 473 is the replica of a genital triangle incised on the buttocks and the bulky necklace (cf. 1.6).

Sub-group 2.2:

The arms are now extended, but P112 is of epigonal-related ware, and its decor of diagonal stripes with white circles and dark central dot resembles the head-dress of 674 (1.3.1). Some early traits like the outlined genital triangle and lines across the legs still occur on some specimens. For 834, from Pisquillo Grande grave 3, a transitional phase 2 to 3A dating is given by the gravelot (see Chancay chronology). The black-on-white 1027 has early traits combined with Jecuan-related face-paint with curlicues. This sub-group therefore dates from late phase 2 to early ? phase 3.

Sub-group 2.3:

Sub-group 2.3.1: Four gravelots allow to date most of this group to phase 3. Phase 3A includes 837, 838, 840, 845 (all from Lauri grave 4) and 835 (Pisquillo Grande grave 4). 844 (Lauri grave 8) and 1996 (Lauri grave B2) probably belong to late phase 3 (see Chancay chronology).

Stylistically it is difficult to pick out chronological differentiations within the group, the distinctions residing mainly between well-made, important specimens (e.g. 849, 585,

840, 1076) and lesser figurines, rather than in features like more rounded or pointed heads, etc.. The relief headband, combined with the stepped cheek zoning and bird decor (2250) could be earlier (cf. 2262/1.1.3, 100/1.3.2), whilst an incised triangle, replicating the genital triangle, on the buttocks (e.g. 585, 1135, etc.) is a late feature. The thin, folded legs of the sitting figurines also belong to the later rather than earlier part of phase 3¹.

It is also more difficult to set up criteria for a phase 4 (LH) in this group than in group 1, as the sample does not feature any of the typical Late Horizon traits listed for sub-group 1.6 (see above 1.6. chronology):

- 1187, 410 (sitting) deserve special mention because they have a very different look both from standard phase 3 specimens and the non-Chancay LH figurines with elongated head (LH gr. 2). The starting point for dating these two figurines is their resemblance with 1242 (2.5) which looks much like a metal Inca figurine. It shares aspects of its unusual head-dress (molded edges around the face, lateral flaps, back flap descending to the neck or below at the back) with other figurines in group 2.5 (2190, 767). 1187, 410 share the bulky relief head-dress border and an undeniably "modern" face with 1242. At the same time they carry the unusual bag (or animal skin?) of 473 (2.1), the dating of which is uncertain (see above). 410 also has two sets of arms, generally a phase 2 characteristic, though there is one other late exception (827/1.6.3). On balance these two figurines probably date to the later part of phase 3 or to phase 4.
- The same problems arise with 139 and 1340. 139 has the same "controversial" load at the back as the early 473/2.1 and the late 1187, 410/2.3.1, and air-holes behind the upper arms, usually an early position. 1340 has a feature (load?) at the back which resembles that of the late MH 859 (Unaffiliated gr.1, chapter 11). Both 139 and 1340 lack arms which adds to the confusion: as we know folded arms can be both early or late. However the overall look, the thin folded legs, and features on 139 like the relief necklace (with painted, not molded beads), or the large nostrils and mouth (resembling the late 7/2.4.1) speak for a late date, possibly phase 4.

Other figurines probably dating to phase 4 are 1433 (incised hair at the back and a late look: it wears a necklace containing glass beads!) and 1377, also with incised hair, a genital triangle at the back and one folded, one extended arm (both standing).

Sub-group 2.3.2: All the figurines of the Jecuan sub-style date to phase 3, (see chronology Chancay 1.5.3).

Sub-group 2.4:

Sub-group 2.4.1: In the absence of datable features, the overall impression, with hand-made, incised and applied features (1385, 7) is late (late phase 3, phase 4).

¹ Phase 2 and early phase 3 sitting figurines usually have legs extended forward (eg. 1781/1.1.3, 792/1.3.3; 1917/1.4.1a; 1745, 781/1.6.2).

1223 is difficult to date because it has some early features: possibly an epigonal-derived ware, with traces of black and white on terracotta; air-holes behind the upper arms; arms extended forward, an unusual feature also occurring on the early 674/1.3.1. However it has thin folded legs and shares a head-dress with lateral flaps with 1187, 410 (2.3.1) and especially 1242 (2.5) below, which are undoubtedly late. The rather naturalistic face is also late rather than early. On the whole it is probably late phase 3 or phase 4.

Sub-group 2.4.2: 282, 281 and 2064, which are mold-made in the Chancay tradition, but have some decorative elements (headband with broken lines and multiple dots (282), lateral pendants to the head-dress (281), belts with lozenges with central dot) are post classic, e.g. late phase 3 or phase 4. 1376 with its incised features, especially the double waist line is also late, as are the remaining specimens, probably all made with one (frontal) mold only. The atypical 1306, included here because of the bag carried at the back, shows a number of phase 4 traits: thick eye-brows, large ear-plugs with cross-and-dot design, thick necklace, double incised waist-line (c.f. Chronology 1.6).

Sub-group 2.5:

The Inca aspect of 1242 was discussed under 2.3.1 above. Figurines like 1747, 2190, 767 belong to a somewhat different tradition, related to Chancay-Huaura (male genitals, pinky-white slip on 767), but their "baroque" aspect clearly fits into the end of the Chancay sequence (cf. 1.4.3, 1.5.2 etc.). 2190 and 767 also share the flaps at the sides and back of the headdress with 1242. 2270 with undeformed head is certainly very late and could even date to early colonial times. All are late Chancay, probably phase 4.

GROUP 3: THE CHANCAY "WITCH"¹

- **SUB-GROUP 3.1: THE BLACK-ON-WHITE "WITCH"**
- **SUB-GROUP 3.2 THE "WITCH" IN RED OR BLACK WARES**

Tables 48-49

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 376-379

Plates 50-52

Sample: 50 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Group 3 shows a mythical or legendary female with animal overtones. The head, which lacks the usual cranial deformation, features two short lugs. It is globular, somewhat flattened, made to look like an animal head, perhaps that of a cat. The face is characterised by high cheek-bones and narrow slit eyes. The body is globular, often with a more or less pronounced

¹ This name is suggested by me as appropriate to describe an unusual—probably mythical—female.

hump on the back and extended arms. All but five figurines are sitting, with folded legs or small projecting feet.

Within the black-on-white sub-group (3.1) one can distinguish several groupings (66 to 1464, SAC 355 to C8); the red- and black ware samples (sub-groups 3.2.1 and 3.2.2) are too small to show subdivisions.

The majority of black-on-white figurines are mold-made, the larger specimens in two separate sections (head and body), whilst in the other wares hand-made specimens are more common. Most figurines are hollow, with air-holes at the ears and/or the waist. On the whole the manufacture tends to be rather less careful than in other Chancay groups.

DISCUSSION

The personage depicted in group 3 seems confined to the Chancay culture. There are no obvious antecedents for group 3 figurines. If we take the specific elements separately, we see that:

- *Horn-like projections*, rather than perforated lugs, associated with undeformed heads, occur on two Middle Horizon figurines 426 (Chapter 8, group 4) and 542 (Chapter 11, Huaura 2.2.1, associated), but the overall aspect of these figurines is totally different from group 3;
- Two to four projections, perforated or not, are common on the head-dress of Huaura and Chancay-Huaura figurines, but they are clearly part of the head-dress and are an exclusively male prerogative.
- The smaller lugs, as featured on group 3, never more than two in number, may be a development of or have the same meaning as the bilobation, so common in earlier Chancay (e.g. 1061 in 1.1.2, 378 in 1.2.2, 1250 in 1.3.3, all perforated). A pair of small classic *cuchimilcos* (1245, 1246 in 1.4.1a) also have small perforated projections.
- An early form of the lugs may be those of 792 (sg. 1.3.3), placed on the decorative border just above the forehead, rather than on the crown. 792 is a sitting hunchback.
- The undeformed head is unique in the post-MH Central Coast tradition, as are the slit eyes and high cheek-bones; all these characteristics only occur in group 3.
- There is perhaps a cat-like aspect to the personage, with possible antecedents in Late MH sub-group 6.1 “Cats” (chapter 10) and parallels in textile representations (Lavalle and Lang 1982:139; Anton 1984: no.130; Lommel 1980: no.412).

Special features/Links with other groups

A few late specimens (1475, 329, 388 in sg. 3.2.1, C9 in sg. 3.2.2) do not strictly fulfill the criteria dividing Chancay from non-Chancay (see Chancay chronology), but as they are so few and so closely related to group 3 they were included here. Only the atypical 543 (sg. 3.2.1) is a real border-line case. It has a group 1 head, with cranial deformation, incised headband and late

Chancay facial features (cf. P107 in 1.6.2) on a type 3 body. Lugs, now broken, may originally have been located at both corners of the head-dress; but note the head-dress ending in a point at the back, a type 3 feature (cf. 44, 1319, C8 in 3.1).

The somewhat atypical 885 (sg. 3.1) carries a bundle on its back, a feature typical for Chancay group 2. However the bundle has a different shape.

No group 3 figurines appear to belong to the Jecuan sub-style or to Chancay-Huaura, although the associated 2271 and 2256 have some features (double "specs", face-paint covering the mouth, a thick stripe across the abdomen on 2256) associated with those sub-styles.

Chancay huacos featuring the group 3 "witch" are rare; the only one known to me has no lugs (Fig.56).



Fig.56

Two Ichma figurines reminiscent of the Chancay "witch" were found as an offering on Huaca Pucllana in Lima (see chapter 14). They have the same undeformed head, high cheek-bones (but standard eyes), bulbous body (but folded arms). Note also the uplifted face (2323, chapter 14), similar to some of the red ware specimens (sg. 3.2.1).

At present there are no clues as to what personage or deity this figure depicts.

Context

One figurine (1991) comes from from Uhle's La Mina grave A1 (see Appendix 3). Another black-on-white witch (La 11 XLVIII)¹ comes from Lauri grave 11, a large burial, containing one fardo (age and sex not specified) and at least 54 ceramics. The bodies of two dogs, wrapped in textiles, were placed above the tomb (Cornejo 1985: App.1:34-37, App.2, 29-39).

Geographic distribution

	Huaura V.	Chancay V.	Ancón	Chillón V.	Others
Sub-group 3.1					
Certain	3	1			
Fairly reliable		4		3	1 (near Lima)
Unverifiable		2	2		
Sub-group 3.2					
Certain				1	
Fairly reliable		1	1	4	2 (Pachacamac)
Unverifiable					

We see that the black-on-white figurines come mainly from the Chancay/Huaura area, whereas the red and black ware specimens are more common in the Ancón/Chillón area, as is

¹ This figurine was not recorded as the illustration is not clear.

the case with phase 3 and 4 figurines of groups 1 and 2 (cf. 1.6, 2.4).

The two attributions for Pachacamac are suspicious—even though they come from the usually fairly reliable v.d.Zypen/ Gretzer collection—because no such figurines occur in excavated material from the site.

Chronology

Group 3.1:

There are two dated gravelots for this type: Uhle's graves A1 (1991) dated to phase 3B and Horkheimer's grave Lauri 11¹, dated by Cornejo (1991:108) to phase 3A. The overall aspect of the figurines confirms this dating, except for the zoning of the face, an early trait on group 1 figurines, which occurs here on some classic group 3.1 specimens (cf. 66, SAC 354, 539, 1314).

Group 3.2:

Sub-group 3.2.1: Seven figurines (254-31 and 1143) belong to phase 3. The remaining six show phase 4 traits (as described in 1.6): thick eye-brows, punctated nipples, an incised square genital pattern (441, cf. group 6), punctated ear-plugs; 1475 and 329 have air-holes at the shoulders—a typical LH (non-Chancay) trait—as well as at the waist. The atypical 543 also belongs to Chancay phase 4.

Sub-group 3.2.2: 1744 dates to phase 3, 591 with its white and red post-fired incrustations and applied mouth can be dated to the very end of that phase; C9 with its thick eyebrows and emphasized shoulders probably dates to phase 4.

CHANCAY GROUP 4: THE CHANCAY "ATTENDANT"

Table 50

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp.380-381

Plates 53-54

Sample: 24 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Small standing figurines characterised by their typical clothing, consisting of a two-cornered hat with diagonal bands, a body-length belted tunic and a bulky necklace. Other features correspond to classic Chancay. The sex is not indicated, but they are probably male (see below).

¹ See footnote p.230.

The majority are mold-made, hollow, with airholes at the waist; two atypical figurines have airholes behind the upper arms. Most are made in black-on-white Chancay ware, one is black and red on cream, three are white-slipped only; one, possibly two, are in red ware.

DISCUSSION

The figurines are identified as attendants because of their resemblance with personages



Fig. 58

carrying a chieftain on a litter (Lavalle and Lang 1982:55 bottom; Disselhof 1970:90; Anton 1972: no.220). These personages wear the same hat and long tunic, though not the multi-row necklace¹. Their function implies that they are male. Representations on vessels are quite common (Fig. 57; Fig 58; Katz 1983:no.89).



Fig. 57

There are no obvious antecedents of this type on the Central Coast. Only 83, with its partly incised circular eyes and the pointed protuberances on the head-dress somewhat recalls the late MH "Cats" (see Late MH Group 6.1, chapter 10). A small number of figurines (361, 2013/sg. 1.6.3, 1821/Unaffiliated group 3, chapter 11) have a head-dress with similar protuberances, but they lack the diagonal bands or any of the other group 4 attributes.

A similar head-dress, though without the diagonal bands, is very common on Chimú figurines, but the Chimú figurines also lack the characteristic tunic and necklace. The Chimú link is interesting because the Chancay culture area may have been under Chimú domination towards the end of the LIP (Rowe 1948:40-41). In this context the figurines may represent the attendants of the Chimú lord. There are no group 4 figurines before phase 3.

It is not clear to what degree the two-cornered hat can be linked with the cranial deformation known as bilobation, quite common during Chancay phases 1 and 2 (see sgs. 1.1 to 1.3). While some group 4 hats are quite flat with projections directed laterally (eg. 498), others have elongated, conical protuberances (eg SAC 324). In the Chimú culture the figurines consistently only have small lateral protuberances, whilst the marked bilobation is reserved for personages represented on vessels (Martínez 1986: Part ii, nos. 670-682). Here the lobes may be a divine attribute and a gradual accentuation of these lobes is seen as the result of deviations in the original beliefs (Weiss and Rojas Ponce 1967/68:296).

Some of the atypical and associated figurines are of particular interest:

¹ Note that on the litters pictured by Disselhof and Anton, the chieftain himself wears the same hat and a necklace with large beads.

- 471 wears a beret with a criss-cross decor common in Nasca pottery where it represents a fishing net, sometimes also worn on the head (Lapiner 1975: nos. 511, 515). This head-dress is unique amongst Chancay figurines; the rest of the clothing is typical for group 4.
- 533, 532, C10 with *some* attributes reminiscent of group 4 (head-dress, painted necklace) both carry a large object looking like a shield, but actually too wide for that function; note also that— unlike Moche warrior figurines with shields—these specimens carry no offensive weapons. These "shields" or panels are unique to my knowledge, as neither similar objects nor representations on vessels or textiles have come to light; the only similarity is with the back-rest of Chancay litters (cf the decor on 532 with 602, 1857, chapter 16).

Context: no data.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura V.	Chancay V.	Ancón	Chillón V.	Others
Chancay 4					
Certain					
Fairly reliable		3	4	3	
Unverifiable		2	1		

It is puzzling that a larger number of these specimens, made in the typical Chancay ware, should come from the Ancón and even Chillón areas, especially as this figure is also depicted on many typical Chancay vessels. More than anything else, this probably shows that many provenances are at best only *fairly* reliable.

Chronology:

There are no early group 4 figurines, the bulk dates to Chancay phase 3. Although several figurines have folded arms (149, 63, SAC 423, 1138, 2200, 2313) these are not the typical early folded arms, nor are other early traits present. Only the atypical 2200 and 2313 have air-holes behind the upper arms, which could be an early feature¹; in addition 2313 is tricolour, though the tonalities of both the black and the yellowy-white are typical for classic Chancay. However the punctated necklace of 2200 is late (see Chancay 1.6), and 2314, with similar applied bands, has the rough look which we associate with the late Chancay 6 figurines. So by analogy 2313 is probably also late. Another specimen with folded arms, SAC 423, made of red ware, has the pronounced shoulders which are more common in the Late Horizon: these specimens could date to late phase 3 or phase 4; 1606 featuring a necklace with incised broken-lines-and-multiple-dots decor could also date to phase 4.

¹ Such an airhole position could also be late (cf 139/2.3.1, 1223/2.4.1).

CHANCAY GROUP 5: PERSONAGE WITH HELMET

Table 51

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.382

Plate 54

Sample: 4 figurines.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Although the sample is small there can be no doubt that group 5 represents a specific personage characterised mainly by its accessories: a head-dress which can vary in shape, but which frames the face with an edging of bobbles, and a necklace with a large spherical pendant. Two figurines may have an elongated head, another lacks any cranial deformation. Eyes are circular. Arms can be extended or folded; two figurines are standing, two sitting. The sex is not indicated. One figurine carries a monkey on its back.

The associated figurine is unique in many ways, though it is closer to group 5—because of the "chin-strap" and the pendant—than to any other type. The loin-cloth in the shape of a genital triangle may indicate a female.

The figurines are black-on-white, the associated one has a black slip with white and red incrustations; the manufacturing techniques are different for each specimen (see Catalogue).

DISCUSSION

The elongated head-dress of 1069 and 603 and the fact that 1069 carries a monkey may indicate that—like group 2—this personage is a "foreigner", in this case from the selva. We see the same personage on a double vessel (Lavalle and Lang 1982:74) with a monkey sitting on its head and carrying a dog. The circular eyes (which can be an early trait) are more likely here to have an ethnic or perhaps mythical connotation.

Context: no data.

Geographic distribution: There are two "fairly reliable" provenances: one for Lauri, Chancay (black-on-white), one for Chuquitanta, Chillón (black-slipped).

Chronology

The black-on-white figurines certainly date to phase 3, even though two of them have folded arms. Unfortunately double-chambered vessels are not included in Comejo's typology, so the occurrence of a group 5 personage on such a vessel does not provide a further chronological indication. The associated 275 has late phase 3/phase 4 features: mold-made front with flat back, black-slipped ware with post-fired incrustations, punctated nipples (see 1.6).

GROUP 6: SMALL, CRUDELY MADE FIGURINES ("SPOOKS")

Table 52

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 383-384

Plates 54-56

- **SUB-GROUP 6.1: BLACK-ON-WHITE "SPOOKS"**
- **SUB-GROUP 6.2: MISCELLANEOUS RED WARE "SPOOKS"**
- **SUB-GROUP 6.3: BLACK WARE "SPOOKS"**

Sample: 38 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Extremely heterogeneous figurines linked by the following common traits: they are fairly small (median height 9.2 cm), hand-made, standing, with extended arms and a flat profile. The crown of the head can be rounded or straight, facial traits are often applied and/or incised: eyes can be round or rectangular, a long, pointed nose and jutting chin are quite common. The body is mostly plain, except for the incised genital pattern which can be triangular or rectangular. Arms and legs are sketchy. Clothes are rarely worn, though a head-dress can be inferred from the shape of the head and perforations on some specimens.

Of the four associated specimens, one is much more carefully made, the others more naturalistic than the figurines in the group. But overall they fit best into this group.

The group has been divided according to the different wares (black-on-white, red ware, including white-slipped, white on red, plain red, and black ware), but characteristics are shared across the sub-groups.

DISCUSSION

Links with other groups

These figurines have been classified as Chancay for the following reasons: a small number of specimens are made of the typical Black-on-white pottery, whilst others, made in red or black ware, have an undeniable Chancay look (1593, 1491, 13, 1497/sg. 6.2 or P.11053 and 1374/sg. 6.3). Finally a number also come from the Chancay culture area. Through linkage we then find that specimens with less clear Chancay traits are also related (see Chronology below).

Context

At least 12 specimens are known to come from graves or burial grounds. The Ancón burial T. 852, (P.11053/6.3) may have been a child burial because—apart from five figurines—it contained miniature vessels and a sling (see Appendix 3).

833/6.2 was found in the surface soil above Horkheimer's Lauri grave 1, located 1.20m below the surface, under a thick layer of sterile sand (Cornejo 1985: Appendix 1, pp.1-2). There is therefore no connection between the object and grave Lauri 1.

1583/6.2, excavated by Kroeber at Marquez, is listed under the heading "Various mummies or loose in soil" (Kroeber MS "First Shipment", Jan-June 1925, p.12). However as surface finds are listed separately, it would appear that the figurine, with two bowls and six ears of maize were the contents of one mummy bundle.

Geographic distribution

	Huaura Valley	Chancay Valley	Ancón	Chillón Valley	Others
Sub-group 6.1					
Certain					
Fairly reliable		2			
Unverifiable			1		
Sub-group 6.2					
Certain		1	3	4	
Fairly reliable		2	1	4	1
Unverifiable					2
Sub-group 6.3					
Certain			1	1	
Fairly reliable		1		1	
Unverifiable					

Of the 22 certain and fairly reliable provenances 22.7 % are from Chancay, 22.7 % from Ancón and 45.5% from Chillón, indicating that this group may be an important component of Kroeber's Sub-Chancay. Note that amongst the figurines from the Chancay valley, several are not black-on-white.

Chronology

In the absence of datable associated ceramics (see Appendix 3), the chronology is established on stylistic criteria:

Sub-group 6.1:

- 1847 with an early head-dress border design (row of dots, cf. 231/Chancay 1.1.1 or squares with central dots, as 794, 1079, 1062 in Chancay 1.1.2) may date to phase 2 (LIP 3-4).
- 81, with a head-dress with vertical stripes and air-holes at neck level could belong to early phase 3. But 12 and 872 with their crossed *faja* are phase 3 figurines.
- 554, with the lower cheek paint inside rectangles, its "string vest" and a head-dress with pendant triangles at the back is late phase 3 or phase 4 (cf. 1237, 578, 583 in sg. 1.4.3).

Note that 12, with its phase 3 *fajas*, has applied and incised rectangular eyes—a variant of "coffee-bean" eyes—and an applied mouth and chin, both characteristic for this group. 554, clearly a late Chancay figurine, has circular eyes, normally an early characteristic, and a rectangular, rather than triangular genital pattern. All these traits help to date specimens in the other sub-groups.

Sub-group 6.2: (taking the more Chancay-like figurines as a starting point):

- 1491, with a Chancay head-shape, has the following late features: four headdress perforations, punctated ear-plugs, punctated nipples, associated here with the coffee-bean eyes with double incision. Some of these traits are shared by 1940.
- 1497 also has a Chancay shape, as well as coffee-bean eyes and four head-dress perforations in sets of two, dating it to late Chancay. This figurine also has a typical profile with a pointed nose and jutting chin (not illustrated, but see 1473 in sg. 6.3). This profile allows to date to late Chancay some less typical figurines, such as 1593 and 372, with traits like circular eyes, which reappear at this late stage on nearly 40% in this group (see also the dating of 554/sg. 6.1). Another usually early trait on 1593 are the long eyebrows, but they can also be late (cf. 1466, 246 in Chancay 1.6.1).

The characteristic coffee-bean eyes (seen on obvious Chancay figurines, like 1497, 1583, 1496) occur on a number of less typical figurines (240, 339, 365, 349, 452); some of these also have a rectangular genital pattern, which in turn appears on specimens like 84. The latter figurine is a link with specimens 152, 163, 833, 385 which could be slightly earlier.

Other features which provide chronological clues are:

- the head-dress perforations can serve as a general guide-line, though only in conjunction with other traits: a rounded head-dress with two perforations, fairly close together, is more typical for phase 2 (though if far apart and on a head-dress with a straighter crown they belong to late Chancay), three perforations are typical for phase 3, four or more perforations for late Chancay (late phase 3 and phase 4);
- short arms with perforations where they join the body (see 699, 163) can be an early trait (see Unaffiliated figurines, chapter 11), but occur again in late Chancay (1.6.1);
- the large umbilicus, placed fairly high, is a latish feature (cf. 575/sg. 1.4.3, 1466/sg. 1.6.1).

So, in spite of a fairly primitive look, I see most of the figurines in sg. 6.2 as belonging to late Chancay, although some figurines like 152, 699, 385 and possibly some others could be earlier (late phase 2, early phase 3?).

Sub-group 6.3:

Black ware figurines in general tend to be late (cf. sgs. 1.6.2, 2.4.2, 3.2). Using the same criteria as above, all the figurines—except perhaps 558 ?—belong to late phase 3 and phase 4:

- P.11053 with crossed, incised *fajas*;

- 1473 with punctated nipples and a high umbilicus (though note the semi-circular crown with two perforations);
- 1374 with coffee-bean eyes and two head-dress perforations placed wide apart;
- also note the characteristic profile of 1473 and 1374.

To conclude: the majority of figurines in group 6 belong to the later part of phase 3 and phase 4, though isolated figurines could be earlier. This is corroborated by the fact that many specimens are part of the Uhle and Kroeber material from Marquez, which—apart from one possibly earlier figurine (1481/sg. 1.6.1)—tend to be late Chancay. Note also that Lilien (1956: Tables 22 and 25) assigns figurines in this group to her Late Imperial (i.e. Late Horizon) phase. On the other hand Haas (1986) dates 240, 339 and 229 (his nos. 107, 108, 109) to "MH4?", probably because of their "primitive" look and the small sample of this type in the Reiss and Stübel material.

A few similar Ichma specimens have also been found in a Late Horizon context (see 2206, 2205, 2237 in chapter 14). The question comes to mind whether such figurines were not made secretly in early post-Conquest times, when it could have been difficult to produce mold-made specimens without attracting the attention of the clergy?

GROUP 7: THE ANTHROPOMORPHIC MONKEY

Table 53

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.385-386

Plate 56

Sample: 12 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Although this study does not cover animal figurines, monkeys were included because of their anthropomorphic features.

The main characteristics of these figurines are: a projecting forehead, round eyes, an undeformed head, somewhat elongated at the back, often on a relatively thin neck. The body is characterised by a rounded hump-like back. Although these features are not particularly simian, a monkey is immediately recognizable, at least on some of the specimens (1252 to 53A). Others have been included into the group by linkage. The associated figurine (547), with its outsize eyes, snout and tail, looks like an animal, though it is not clearly a monkey.

The majority of specimens are mold-made and hollow, with air-holes at the waist or behind the upper arms. The wares are mainly Chancay black-on-white and red ware.

DISCUSSION

The monkey has many mythical connotations in Andean lore and is frequently represented on pre-Columbian ceramics or textiles. To this day, at the time of the *Renua*, a renewal ceremony which takes place in the Altiplano in September-October, young men dress up as monkeys, playing jokes on the public (H. Stobart, personal communication).

On the Central Coast monkeys have been linked to the myth of Pachacamac. According to Gutierrez de Santa Clara (1963/1548: 233), Pachacamac, after his victory over Con, turned humanity into monkeys. Another form of the myth, reported by Calvete de la Estrella (in Valcarcel 1964: vol.II, 458), Pachacamac, when creating the world, put the sea into a recipient and entrusted it to a couple. However they allowed the sea to spill into its present size. To punish them, Pachacamac turned the man into a monkey and the woman into a fox.

According to Menzel (1977:33) "monkeys symbolized fertility, primarily in the context of sexual activity". It is therefore surprising that the sex of the monkey figurines is either not indicated or that females appear to be represented. It may be that within the funerary context monkeys took on another symbolic meaning. We know that bodies of monkeys were sometimes placed in burials (Sestieri 1971: 103-104). Monkey figurines may also have had a specific function prior to burial: it is noticeable that nearly 60% of figurines have one or both arms broken.

Special features

As mentioned, some specimens were included in this group through linkage. Thus 1582, which to some degree shares the peculiar monkey face with projecting forehead, has traces of a band placed across the head, hiding the ears. A similar feature appears faintly on both 323 and the associated 547.

The pronounced spine on 1339 and to a lesser degree on 425 is a rare feature, which otherwise only occurs on 1747 (see Chancay 2.4.1), a large standing male: generally the spine, if indicated, is shown as a groove. This feature is not really simian, so some other mythical connotation might be indicated, especially on 1339.

425, the only figurine which also has the prognathous mouth which we would associate with a monkey, wears a curious head-dress, in the form of a net, with truncated projections on either side of the head. Nets are often depicted on the head of Nasca fishermen, but only two Chancay figurines wear anything that could be interpreted as a net, painted rather than in relief like here (see 471/group 4 and 2312/sg. 6.1). The truncated lateral projections, the tops decorated with a painted cross are unique. This figurine—and perhaps 1472—may have been holding an object.

1995 has small lugs on the head like group 3 figurines. But because of the typical monkey forehead it has been included in this group.

Context

At least three figurines, probably more, come from graves. 1995, from Uhle's grave B2 at Lauri, was associated with several *cuchimilcos* and one group 2 figurine (see Appendix 3).

Geographic distribution

Of the eight figurines with certain or fairly reliable provenance, three are from the Chancay Valley, one from Ancón and four from the Chillón valley, which means that the type is fairly evenly distributed.

Chronology

The group probably covers a long time span. We know that 1995, from Lauri Grave B2 belongs to the latter part of phase 3 (see Chancay chronology).

Specimens like 56, 1252 with air-holes behind the upper arms and painted features such as transversal lines across the legs (1252, very faint), facial zoning and outlined genital triangle (56) the latter also with folded arms, date to the end of phase 2 or early phase 3.

1339 with its pointed elbows and "baroque" spine is probably late, as are 1477 and 1472 from the Huaca at the southern corner of Marquez, which has only yielded late specimens (cf. 1542, 1544/1.6.1, 1470/2.3.1, 1475/3.2.1).

The one puzzling specimen is 425: it is somehow reminiscent of late MH/early LIP specimens like 1188/Huaura 2.1 and 542/Huaura 2.2, both with lateral projections on their heads and somewhat similar modelling of the facial features. The position of the arms and the air-holes is too unusual for dating purposes, though one early Chancay figurine (P56/1.1.2). has arms placed this way. On the whole the feel is early (Chancay late phase 1 or phase 2?).

GROUP 8: CHANCAY-RELATED SPECIALS

Table 54

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 386-387

Plate 57

Sample: 13 Figurines

CHARACTERISTICS AND DISCUSSION

The figurines do not form a group and are discussed individually.

557: This figurine is related to both the late MH “Cats” (see Chapter 10) and the Huaura 4 “Slabs”(Chapter 11), because of its cat-like appearance and flat body. But the different ware (reddish-brown on cream) and the provenance from Lauri, Chancay Valley, allows to classify this specimen as Chancay. Date: Chancay phase 1-2?

424: This figurine shows some links with early Chancay *cuchimilcos*: bilobation, zoning of the face, body-shape, ware (cf. sgs. 1.1.1, 1.3.2, in particular 594/sg. 1.3.2). The provenance from Pachacamac is doubtful, especially as the catalogue number has a question mark, though air-holes placed at the neck—a late MH feature—are typical for the Pachacamac “Punch” type figurine (see Chapter 12); they also occur on Supe and Huaura figurines (Chapters 10, 11). But the overall impression is Chancay related and the date, taking into account the extended arms, cannot be before Chancay phase 2.

1084: No other figurine has the tip of the pointed head bent forward, though a pointed rather than elongated head does occur (cf. 1028, Chancay 2.3.1). The molded features and the body shape with extended arms are reminiscent of Chancay; representation of hair at the back, here molded, is a late feature (cf. 1135, 486, 1377/Chancay 2.3.1, 510/LH1). No provenance. Date: Chancay Phase 3 (late?).

361: Unusual specimen from Marquez, Chillón valley. The two projections on the head are related to the horned or bilobed mythical personage with a long Central Coast tradition going back to the MH and earlier. They also link the figurine distantly with Chancay group 3. The facial features and the body with extended arms are Chancay. The punctated necklace and the single (frontal) mold are late features (see Chancay 1.6). Suggested date: Chancay late phase 3?

2319: Unique figurine. Many features are reminiscent of the late MH: the shape of a “slab” (see Huaura 4), the necklace of large molded beads, the press-molded decor. But although the step motif is common in the MH, the other motifs are not; nor have I come across press-molded motifs repeated in this way or shown inside checkerboard squares (see back of figurine) on late MH Central Coast vessels.

However a similar decor occurs on an Ica gold tumbler of LIP 6 (Menzel 1977: fig.31A).

The beaky nose, short, nearly vertical nose-to-chin lines, combined with the tiny mouth are also very common on Ica-Chincha figurines of the LIP. On the other hand the head-dress with its straight crown and decorative border is typical for classic Chancay. The folded arms with three fingers are common in early Chancay and in later Ica-Chincha, but the perforations through the arms are a Central Coast feature. The figurine may well come from an area between the Central and South Coast, like the Cañete valley. A likely date would be LIP 6-8.

338: Unusual figurine from Ancón, undoubtedly Chancay-related, not Chimu, as Haas (1986:308) suggests. It may originally have had lugs at the back (top) of the head, an early feature (see also 433, 353/Punch, chapter 12). But considering the extended arms, an early phase 3 date is likely¹.

371: The elongated head is typical for Chancay group 2, though in that group the head-dress is generally not perforated and other features of that group (tump-line, load on the back) are lacking. The applied eyebrows are thinner and placed higher than the typical late Chancay eye-brows (see 1.6); the punctated necklace in "V" is also unlike any late form. Provenance: Ancón, unverifiable. Suggested date: Chancay phase 3.

17: Although this figurine has molded Chancay features and a body related to—though not typical of—Chancay (e.g. the raised genital triangle), the unusual head-dress covering the ears has a North Coast feel to it. The figurine may come from the area north of the Huaura valley, for which no LIP figurines are known. It dates undoubtedly to the later LIP, phases 6-8?

600, 1920: Indubitably Chancay-related (600 with a fairly reliable provenance from the Chancay valley) these figurines are very curious. Although the semi-circular crown, and the air-holes through the upper arms on 600 (though not *behind* the upper arms) are early features, others (the crossed *fajas*, the double waistline incision on 600, the open mouth on 1920 and the frontal mold, with hand-made back) are late; the arms folded upwards, the white slip on 1920, could be either. Note also the white on red ware (600), which again could be early, but could also mark the end of the traditional black-on-white ware. On the whole, my feeling is late (Chancay phase 4?) rather than early, also because of a certain resemblance with 75, below.

75: This figurine is definitely Chancay, with its brown *fajas* on traces of a white slip and some Chancay sintering. It is definitely late: extended arms and *fajas*, molded eyebrows,

¹ Haas (1986:309) dates it LIP 5 to LH, Kaulicke (1983:Abb.64.6) to MH4.

numerous head-dress perforations, incised genital triangle. Provenance uncertain. Date: Chancay late phase 3 or phase 4.

1024: This figurine is also clearly Chancay (see profile), but may come from a marginal area (note the unusual air-hole between the legs). It probably dates to the end of phase 3, with its double incision at the waist and the unusually large number (24) of head-dress perforations (P108/1.6.2 has 16 perforations). A late date may also account for the numerous incisions (fingers, toes etc.) in conjunction with the molds.

612: This figurine, with a fairly reliable provenance from Pisquillo Chico, Chancay, has obvious Chancay features: extended arms, mold-made with air-holes at waist level, and a bird incised on the chest. But the general aspect of the figurine is so unusual that it could well date to early colonial times.

CONCLUSION

Chancay figurines emerge at the very end of the Middle Horizon and are genetically linked both to the early Huaura figurines and to a pottery style or styles found in the Ancón area at the time. By the time the 3-colour geometric style is established, Chancay figurines—and in particular the *cuchimilco*—have developed their distinctive shape, with the gradual introduction of extended arms. During the classic phase of the Chancay black-on-white pottery (phase 3) a variety of figurine *types* become popular in the Chancay valley, as well as variants such as the Chancay-Huaura and Jecuan sub-styles.

In the earlier part of phase 3, black-on-white figurines are also manufactured in Ancón and in the Chillón valley, but gradually that ware is replaced—especially in the Chillón valley—by red or black wares. During phase 4, figurines from these marginal areas acquire features which will become popular in Late Horizon figurines. However, in the Chancay valley itself, it would appear that black-on-white figurines continue to be manufactured during phase 4, albeit in a more “baroque” style.

CHAPTER 14

THE LATE INTERMEDIATE PERIOD IN THE RIMAC AND LURIN VALLEYS : FIGURINES OF THE ICHMA STYLE

INTRODUCTION

The Ichma pottery style is the contemporary of the Chancay style in the Rimac and Lurín valleys, extending south to the Chilca and Mala valleys. Like Chancay it has its beginnings in the late Middle Horizon and survives into the Late Horizon. In a recent study Bazán (1991) defines and subdivides this style, originally called the *Huancho* style. According to Bazán the name *Huancho*, coined by Villár Córdova (1935), was based on local toponimics, resulting in a misinterpretation of the ethnic distribution in the area. Bazán makes a good case for renaming the pottery style *Ichma*. The name *Ichma* or *Ichimay*, often thought to have only applied to the lower Lurín valley, was in fact the name by which the inhabitants of both the lower Rimac and Lurín valleys called themselves at the time of the Conquest (1991:19).

The views of archaeologists regarding the Late Intermediate Period ceramics style or styles in this area differ wildly. Lumbreras (1994:191) rather ambiguously includes the area into the Chancay sphere of influence. Stumer (1954c:142) does recognize a *Huancho* ceramic style in the Rimac valley, represented by a crude red ware with occasional white decor, alongside imported Chancay ceramics. According to Bazán (1991:10), Stumer borrows the name for this style from the ethnic group mistakenly identified by Villár Cordoba, even though the pottery described by Villár Córdova under this name is totally different. A study by Iriarte Brenner (1960) introduces yet other ceramic types under the same name and Bonavía (1965:109) reluctantly also applies the name to LIP ceramics in the lower Lurín valley, though stressing the need for a more rigorous study of the pottery style involved.

Such a study has been undertaken by Bazán. He combines the associated architecture and ceramics from a number of sites in the lower section of the Chillón, Rimac and Lurín valleys and defines four main phases for the style:

- *Ichma Inicial* dating to the late Middle Horizon, with a number of wares (orange with or without slip, pale brown to black on cream, crude brown ware, ware with a thin cream slip, black polished.

- *Ichma Medio* and *Fitomorfo*, contemporary—in the beginning—with 3-colour geometric and spanning the whole of the LIP. This is the type found associated with the so-called “pyramids with ramp” at sites like Pachacamac in the Lurín valley (see Paredes 1988) and Huaquerones and Maranga in the Rimac valley. Wares include brown and cream or black and white on red, brown on cream, etc. Typical of this phase are face-necks like those from Pachacamac illustrated by Strong and Corbett (1943: Fig.12c), Lavallée (1965-1966: Lámina 5a, d) or Bueno (1983:26).
- *Ichma Tardío* which basically carries on with some of the wares of the previous phase, but now associated with Inca ceramics.

Daniel Guerrero, who directed the Proyecto Armatambo, proposes a chronology starting somewhat later than Bazán. His Ichma phase 1 is contemporary with the end of 3-colour geometric (LIP 3-4), followed by phases 2 and 3 (LIP 5 to 8) and Ichma final (LH).

Bazán also included the Chillón valley in his study, because of the divergence in the views of a number of archaeologists about its cultural affiliation. Whilst Kroeber (1926c) and Stumer (1954a,b) consider it to be wholly within the Chancay cultural area, Patterson and Lanning state that during the later half of the Late Intermediate, the northern sector of the valley “continue their affiliations with Chancay, while the southern end of the valley shared its pottery style with the Rimac valley” (1964:116).

According to Bazán (1991:147, 171-172) the pottery styles of the valleys from Chancay to Mala all share *some* stylistic traits during the LIP. The Chancay pottery style in particular influences the other areas. But although “significant quantities” of Chancay pottery were found in the Chillón valley, it also has its own pottery style, mainly red-slipped. Except for similarities in the utilitarian ware, the Chillón valley does not show strong links with the neighbouring Rimac valley. In particular it lacks the characteristic Middle Ichma “brown on cream” and “brown and cream on red” wares. Finally, during the Late Horizon, the pottery of the two valleys shares a number of shapes, which Bazán sees as evidence that “some of the Ichma ceramic style penetrated into the Chillón during the Inca epoch” (1991:148, my translation).

On the whole, the evidence of the figurines from the Chillón valley fits Bazán’s model, but needs some qualifications. During the classic phase 3 of the Chancay style, typical Chancay black-on-white figurines, mainly cuchimilcos (type 1.4), occur in the Chillón valley, though other types such as figurines with elongated head (group 2) or the Chancay “witch” (group 3) are rare and sub-styles like Chancay-Huaura or Jecuan do not occur at all. The black-on-white cuchimilcos were certainly produced locally, as they show some differences with Chancay valley specimens (see 1.4.1b). Along with these—but probably during the later part of that phase—Chillón produces a number of red- and black ware figurines, which, although in a

different ware from Chancay black-on-white are nevertheless iconographically very similar to typical Chancay figurines¹. So in that aspect at least Bazán's model is not entirely correct.

During the Late Horizon the situation changes: in the Huaura and Chancay valleys figurines continue mainly to be produced in black-on-white, whilst from Ancón to the Lurín valley, figurines tend to become fairly standardized (see Chapter 15). Whether this standardized style can be seen as an expansion of the Ichma style northwards, as Bazán would have it, or whether there is a general assimilation process under Inca rule, fusing together Chancay- and Ichma-related elements to form a new style, as the figurines show, is open to debate.

By and large, since the figurines found in the Chillón valley during the LIP belong to the Chancay culture, this area is left out in the following attempt to identify Ichma figurines.

Obviously Bazán's study should be the starting point for a definition of Ichma figurines. But for valid comparisons we need illustrations of a few figurines or at least face-necks. Unfortunately only three figurine fragments came to light in Bazán's investigations, only one of them illustrated². A small number of face-necks are shown, but—with the exception of a few figurines (see below)—there is no resemblance between them and any of the figurines in the study sample, which could belong to the Ichma style.

So the only possible approach is to isolate all the specimens from the Rimac and Lurín valleys and to see whether any significant stylistic and iconographic traits emerge.

The most obvious candidates, the late MH-early LIP "Punch" figurines from the Rimac and Lurín valleys (see Chapter 12), have been left out, because Bazán does not include similar face-necks, which are not uncommon, in his Ichma style. This group probably predates the Ichma style.

As far as Late Horizon figurines are concerned, only those in the distinctive Ichma pottery or from a specific Ichma context are included here. The bulk are studied separately (see chapter 15) since they represent a distinct Late Horizon style, which is not necessarily the Ichma style.

Possible Ichma figurines, i.e. figurines with Rimac or Lurín valley provenances fall into three categories:

1. Figurines from a documented context, some but not all showing Ichma characteristics as described by Bazán.
2. Figurines lacking a documented context or obvious stylistic affinities.

¹ With the exception of a small group (see Chancay 1.6.3).

² This illustration is missing in the copy of his thesis Bazán kindly gave me.

3. Figurines from Rimac and Lurín which obviously belong to the Chancay style and which can therefore be eliminated. These are:

No.	Group	Site	Remarks
1580	Chancay 1.2.1	Maranga **	Typical Chancay
1026	Chancay 1.2.1	Macatambo	Typical Chancay
1828	Chancay 1.2.3	Pachacamac	Doubtful provenance; Chancay related to Ancón sub-style
477	Chancay 14.1A	Magdalena near Lima	No border on headdress, but otherwise typical Chancay
P104	Chancay 1.6.1	Vicinity of Lima	Red ware, but otherwise typical Chancay
1437	Chancay 1.6.1	Pachacamac	Red ware, typical for Chancay phase 4
1827	Chancay 1.6.1	Pachacamac	Doubtful provenance; red ware, typical for Chancay phase 4
502	Chancay 1.6.2	Vicinity of Lima *	Black ware; no headdress border, but typical Chancay
1369	Chancay 1.6.2	Rimac Valley	Black ware; no headdress border, but typical Chancay
P105	Chancay 1.6.2	Maranga **	Black ware; typical Chancay
P109 ¹	Chancay 1.6.2	Maranga ***	Black ware; typical Chancay
1832	Chancay 2.3.1	Vicinity of Lima	Doubtful provenance; typical Chancay
328	Chancay 3.2	Pachacamac	Doubtful provenance; red ware, typical Chancay
329	Chancay 3.2	Pachacamac	Doubtful provenance; red ware, slightly less typical Chancay
363	Chancay 6.2	Near Lima *	Red ware, non-descript like all figurines in group 6.
1457	Chancay 6.2	Mountain near Lima	Red ware, non-descript like all figurines in group 6.
452	Chancay 6.2	Pachacamac	Doubtful provenance; red ware, non-descript as above

ICHMA FIGURINES

A. FIGURINES WITH A DOCUMENTED PROVENANCE

Table 55

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp. 388-390

Plate 58

Sample: 20 Figurines

DISCUSSION

Although the figurines do not form a specific group, several discrete strains can be identified:

Figurines made in Ichma "Brown on cream" ware (2214 from Huallamarca, 2209, 2208, 2207, 2213 from Armatambo, and 2230 from Pachacamac). Because of the ware these can definitely be regarded as Ichma figurines. Of the figurines from Armatambo, 2209, 2208 and 2207 are dated by D. Guerrero (personal communication) to Ichma phase 3 (late LIP). Note that all the body fragments have folded arms. Since one early Ichma phase 3 figurine (2210) has also folded arms, while other Ichma figurines of the same phase have extended arms (see below 702, P122, 2217b), this means that the position of the arms is not a chronological marker as in Chancay. Late traits, also found in late Chancay or LH figurines, are: legs joined by a "bridge" at the feet (2209), a bulky punctuated necklace (2208), prominent shoulders and double waist incision (2207). 2213, dating to LH Ichma, is related to Chancay but has characteristic round Ichma eyes (cf.

¹ Bazán (199:74) includes this figurine into his Ichma style.

Bueno M. 1983:26). Both the figurine from Huallamarca (found in excavation debris) and from Pachacamac (no context) can be dated to the end of the LIP or LH by their typical disk ear-plugs with the decor of small holes placed around a central circle. Note the elongated head of 2214, related to Chancay type 2.

The figurines from Huaca Pucllana (P123, 2323). These were found buried as an offering on a platform of the Huaca ¹. Flores E. (1981:68) assigns them to the *estilo Miraflores*. Since this style is described as “a style similar to Chancay...later than the XIIth century...and encompassing the Rimac valley and, less clearly, the Lurín valley” (1981:65, my translation), we must assume that they correspond to the Ichma style. They have some affinity with the Chancay “witch” (prominent cheeks, globular body). 2323 shows late traits: double incision at the waist, clitoris, the ends of the necklace hanging down in the back (cf. chapter 15). 2323 (and probably of P123) is made in a dark red ware with white decor.

702 from Cajamarquilla and 701 from Rinconada de la Molina. These figurines are red, unslipped (701 may have traces of a darker slip), 702 has three black lines painted across the face.; the decor is incised and/or punctated. Like 2323, they could belong to a plain Ichma red ware. But they present a chronological conundrum: 702 was excavated in Cajamarquilla by the Italian Archaeological mission. According to Sestieri the figurine (1963: fig.32) was found “on top of a tomb, as an offering”(1963: 176), but later Sestieri states that it was found “at the same level” as the stone closing the tomb (1963: 179). The tomb in question is one of a number of bottle-shaped tombs (*tombe a bottiglia*) which could not be dated due to the lack of decorated ceramics. These contained, amongst other, large utilitarian jars of an unfamiliar type, some pyroengraved *mates*, two textiles which the author considers to belong to the EIP “Interlocking” style and some weighing scales. Some of these data (shape of vessels, closure of the tomb by a stone) as well as some “symbolic” burials of children, also found at Cajamarquilla, recall Irriarte's (1960) data about Huancho burial customs. 701 comes from a grave excavated under the aegis of the Museo de Sitio, Puruchuco, but I was unable to obtain any contextual data.

These figurines present traits which could be early, late or both:

- The punctated nipples (702) occur both on Huachipa figurines of the early EIP (e.g. 819, chapter 6) and on late Chancay (see sgs. 1.6, 6) and LH figurines.

¹ According to L. Lumbreras Jr. (personal communication) the Huaca dates mainly to phases 7 to 9 of the Lima culture, though there is probably an earlier core.

- The shape of the head is reminiscent of late Lima figurines (see 696, chapter 7) or a late MH figurine such as 1355 (Chapter 9, group 2), but also of Chancay.
- The lugs at the back of the head 701 also occur on 433 and 353 (“Punch”, chapter 12);
- The applied mouth/chin area on 702 has parallels in the early 442 (Late MH group 1, Chapter 9), but also in late Chancay group 6 figurines;
- Air-holes placed at the neck are a late MH feature (see “Punch”, chapter 12), but they become standard during the Late Horizon.

The ambiguity is compounded by the fact that 701 has folded arms—an early *or* late feature—whilst the very similar 702 has extended ones.

Features which ultimately tip the scales towards a late date are:

- The Chancay type eyes with big eyebrows (701), a late feature;
- The broken-line-and-multiple dots decor of the headdress, especially in the punctated technique (701).

P122 from Maranga and 2217b from Huallamarca: The figurines are very Chancay like, but if one compares them with their Chancay counterparts in Chancay 1.3.4 or 1.6.1 a subtle difference in style is obvious. This and their provenance allows us to include them in to the Ichma group. P122 comes from grave CLXIV at Huaca III, Maranga, containing a *fardo* and a modelled human representation, probably part of a whistling vessel (Jijón y Caamaño 1949:88-89). The cemetery belongs to construction phase 5 of the *huaca*, and is associated with “Chancay Black-on-white”, “Modern White-on-red”, “Press-molded”, as well as “Chimu” (probably black ware) and “Inca-influenced Chimu”. At Huallamarca we know that the site was used as a cemetery during the LIP. This leaves a fair latitude for dating the figurines. LIP 5, e.g. contemporary with early Chancay phase 3 is likely.

2206, 2005, from Armatambo and 2237 from Pachacamac. The figurines are not really similar, except for the incised and/or punctated decor; also all three have diagonal lines from the nose towards the temples. The archaic look is deceptive, since 2206 is associated with Ichma phase 3, 2205 with Inca. Interestingly 2205 has a rectangular incision outlining the genital area, a late feature also occurring on Chancay group 6 figurines. 2237 comes from a terrace fill at the Mamacona, so it could be slightly earlier than the building itself. But it would seem that the fashion—towards the end of the LIP—for crude, hand-made figurines extended beyond the Chancay culture proper. I have suggested (see chapter 13, group 6) that these figurines may have been made in the early post-Conquest period.

In addition, there are some one-off figurines with a documented provenance:

704, from a burial at *Cajamarquilla*, is related to such early specimens as the *Huaura* “slabs” (*Huaura* 4). Early features include the raised eyes (cf. 440, group 1, Chapter 9) and perhaps the projection on the chest (cf. 1355, group 2, Chapter 9). A likely date would be late MH/early LIP, but it could be later.

2218 from *Huallamarca* is fairly non-descript. It has features like arms folded upwards and air-holes behind the upper arms, which could be early (LIP 3-4?) or late (LIP 8-LH). The incised genital triangle is more likely to be late. But both dates are possible.

2210 from *Armatambo* is obviously influenced by *Chancay*. It has a necklace with large single beads, normally an early feature (see *Huaura* 2). It is dated to early Ichma phase 3 (i.e. LIP 5) by D. Guerrero (personal communication).

1110 from *Puruchuco*, is said to come from a group of Late Horizon burials behind the buildings (A. Jiménez-Borja, personal communication). A typical LH figurine (703, LH 1.2) was also found there. With its bulky necklace and perforations through the chest the figurine could date to the Late Horizon.

2236 from *Pedrerros*, a site opposite *Puruchuco*, on the right bank of the *Rimac*, which Stumer (1954c:145) classifies as “Fusional and Kingdoms and Confederations” i.e. MH and LIP is a typical badly made late figurine (cf. for instance 2013 from Uhle’s *Ancón* grave T2, in *Chancay* 1.6.1). The two perforations close together at one side of the head-dress suggest that there were one or two more sets of two perforations. This is typical for late figurines. Suggested date: end of LIP/LH.

B. FIGURINES OF UNCERTAIN PROVENANCE

Table 55

Catalogue Vol.II, pp.390-391

Plate 58

Sample: 5 Figurines

1454: The figurine is said to come from “ruins of Pre-Inca dwellings and graves near Chosica in the *Rimac* valley” and was found with the mummy of a child and stone, wood and bone implements, textiles, gourds, shell beads, etc. Like 704 above it is related to “slabs”, which tend to be early, but in this case it has a rectangular genital area, so it may be related to *Chancay* 6, where many specimens share this feature as well as being flat and having perforations through the arms or chest. Late LIP or LH?

- 1434: Non-descript, crude figurine said to come from Lima. The fact that the figurine, mold-made but apparently solid, has “imitation” air-holes, going from side to side, suggests a late date. Late LIP.
- 403: This crude mold-made figurine, said to come from Lima, may be a Rimac version of the Chancay “attendant” (group 4): note the vertical rows of chevrons dividing the head-dress, the large necklace and a tunic? below the waist. Late LIP or LH.
- 270: Crude hand-made specimen with a mold-made face, somewhat reminiscent of late Chancay figurines from Marquez: 407/Chancay 1.6.1 has the same high ear-plugs and very sketchy body. Late LIP or LH.
- 1443: This crude hand-made figurine is said to come from Pachacamac, which is unlikely. There is a distant Chancay resemblance (shape of the head, the legs). Note the air-holes behind the upper arms, an early trait that seems to reappear at the end of the LIP (see above 2218). Late LIP or LH.

CONCLUSION

The number of figurines which can be assigned to the Ichma pottery style is small. The sample does not appear to contain figurines of the early phases (Bazán’s *Ichma Initial* or Guerrero’s phases 1 and 2). The only possibly early figurines, 704 from Cajamarquilla and 2218 from Huallamarca are too non-descript to be of much use in defining a phase. Although some of the figurines included here may date to the Late Horizon, LH figurines in general — from Ancón to Pachacamac—are so similar, that at this stage it is impossible to isolate specifically late Ichma figurines.

As for the Late Intermediate, the occurrence of small groupings—mostly no more than two specimens with distinctive features—during its later phases, shows that a certain stylistic, if not iconographic, variety did exist within the Ichma style. A direct or indirect influence of Chancay can always be felt. The question why the densely populated valleys of the Rimac and Lurín produced so few figurines has already been addressed several times before. Remembering Stumer’s statement (1954c:141) that at Armatambo in the 1950s one could find many figurine fragments on the surface, confirms my suspicion that since the Conquest more has been destroyed here than in less populated areas.

CHAPTER 15

THE FIGURINES OF THE LATE HORIZON

INTRODUCTION

Late Horizon Central Coast figurines are clearly a development of the specific tradition which has its roots in early Huaura and its successor, the Chancay style. It is impossible to say how important the Ichma component is because very few Ichma figurines are known and because the Ichma style is also—to a certain degree—part of the same tradition. Other earlier Central Coast styles, such as Atarco or Atarco-derived and Supe figurines, have entirely disappeared by the Late Horizon.

The Inca style appears to have had no influence on the Late Horizon figurines of the Central Coast. It is true that there are very few Inca pottery figurines, because they are mainly made of metal. But the overall shape, especially that of the head, is quite different. Nor can we say that the return to folded arms which occurs during the Late Horizon is due to the Inca influence, since extended arms were strictly a Chancay phenomenon: both earlier *and* later Central Coast figurines always have folded arms.

The figurines of the Late Horizon are much less varied than those of the preceding phase. There are only two iconographic groups: one is the successor of the Chancay *cuchimilco*, the other the successor of the figurines with elongated head. A third group contains Late Horizon “specials”.

GROUP 1: THE LATE HORIZON “CUCHIMILCO”

• SUB-GROUP 1.1: LARGE, HAND-MADE, HOLLOW FIGURINES

Table 56

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp. 392-394

Plates 59-60

Sample: 43 Figurines

• SUB-GROUP 1.2: FIGURINES GENERALLY MADE OF ONE (FRONTAL) MOLD, SOLID

Table 57

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp. 395-396

Plates 61-63

Sample: 89 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

This group as a whole is clearly derived from the Chancay *cuchimilco* (Chancay Group 1), with its large head, mostly featuring an angular headdress. The two sub-groups are iconographically closely related, the variations between them stemming mainly from different manufacturing techniques:

Sub-group 1.1: The head shows the typical fronto-occipital cranial deformation. The face is characterised by large eyes, often with prominent semi-circular eye-brows; a few specimens show face-paint. Although some figurines are rather rotund, the body is generally narrower than on Chancay figurines. The arms can be extended (50%) or folded; the legs are separate, but figurines from the Chancay to Chillón area are nearly always joined at the feet, a less common feature in the Rimac and Lurín valley. All the figurines are female, with an incised and raised genital triangle (a double incision at the waist is common) and explicit genitalia, often showing the clitoris. No clothes are depicted, but most figurines wear a head-dress, similar in shape to that worn by the typical Chancay *cuchimilco*, but normally unadorned (four specimens have a patterned border band, perforations occur on eight specimens (18.6 %); many wear a bulky necklace, often with the ties showing at the back; large circular ear-plugs are also quite common. In addition, a number of figurines were found wrapped in textiles.

This sub-group features many large, well made figurines, with heights ranging from 54.0 cm to 14.7 cm (34.5 cm median height). As a rule the figurines appear to be hand-made, but some heads or limbs may have been mold-made. They are all hollow, with air-holes often placed at the shoulders, the mouth, etc. A wide variety of wares are represented, from a typical high quality Inca orange ware (occasionally with black, white and red decor) and black ware with post-fired incrustations, to plain unslipped terracotta ware.

Sub-group 1.2: This sub-group is numerically nearly twice as large as sg.1.1 because it contains mass-produced molded specimens, characterized by a flat, featureless back. The shape

of the head tends to be more angular than in sg.1.1. Because of the flat back, a cranial deformation cannot be ascertained. Facial features are similar to sg.1.1, but face-paint does not occur. The body is nearly always elongated (except on very small specimens), with a straight or slightly convex profile; many specimens from the Chancay-Ancón area have emphasized shoulders. Less than 5% have extended arms; legs are molded in one piece, divided by a groove down the middle. Genitals are similar to sg.1.1. Clothing and accessories are similar to sg.1.1, but there is a greater variety of headgear, with some elaborate shapes and patterns and with marginally more head-dress perforations (ca 25 %)

Figurines in this sub-group are much smaller, ranging from 32.0 to 3.1 cm. (median height: 19.2 cm). The majority have a mold-made front part, the back being simply flattened, resulting in solid figurines, often with two perforations through the chest. About 10% have an applied, apparently hand-made, featureless back: these are hollow and some have multiple air-holes. The wares are mostly quite crude (plain terracotta, white on red, etc.), except for the black ware with post-fired incrustations.

Within both sub-groups there are clusters of very similar figurines, which show local or even individual workmanship (e.g. 623 and 251, 521 to 246 in sg.1.1; 420, 1830 and 224 or 1144, 93 and 347 and others in sg.1.2).

DISCUSSION

Special features

The most remarkable feature are the elaborate adornments (head-dress, necklaces, ear-plugs) worn by some of the figurines: 244 (sg. 1.1)¹, as well as 1750, 2238 and 258 from Pachacamac (all in sg. 1.2) wear a rectangular head-dress (only fully preserved on 244) with two incised fish facing each other in an upper field, bordered by a band with incised meanders (244), broken lines and dots (1750) or chevrons (258); a unique feature are two bands—in three sections and ending in fringes— either attached to the head-dress (244) or to the ear-plugs and hanging down on the chest. Uhle excavated a face-neck wearing a related head-dress at Pachacamac (Uhle 1903: fig.81).

Another elaborate head-dress, worn with large disk ear-plugs, has a low calotte with lateral borders sometimes projecting above it (1198, 1429, 344, 345, 274, 181, all in LH 1.2). Both the calotte and the borders are adorned with incised designs. Uhle excavated a face-neck with such a head-dress in the Inca section to the N/W of Pachacamac (UPMP 31750).

¹ This figurine is wrongly said to come from Chimbote.

A remarkable face-neck (Fig. 59) wears both the latter head-dress and the ear-plugs with hanging bands and shows many of the typical Late Horizon traits: thick, semi-circular eyebrows, face-paint across the lower part of the face, punctated nipples. One assumes that such adornments were worn by high-status individuals, but since this head-dress only occurs on the Central Coast, we may be dealing with the local elite rather than the Inca overlords. Large ear-plugs are usually thought to be the prerogative of men, but the wearers here are clearly women¹. This representation could be the *Diosa de Pachacamac*, which according to A. Bueno (personal communication) was the object of a popular cult at the time.



Fig. 59

The nose of the carefully made 239 and 246 (sg. 1.1) is adorned with a line drawing in the shape of a hook; this also occurs on no. 6/Chancay 1.4.1b and on a Late Horizon face-neck (Fig. 60).



Fig. 60

Several figures in LH 1.1 (1632, 1299, 443, 454) have a lighter coloured body in front and a darker head and back, with a clear dividing line running along the sides of the body.

520 (sg. 1.1) is the only smiling figurine in the whole study.

443 (sg. 1.1) was found with a small copper plate, wrapped in a wad of cotton placed in its open mouth; another cotton wad was placed in the anus. As there are many instances in pre-Columbian Peru, where a human burial has a metal plaque placed in its mouth, Schuler-Schömig (1984:158ff) suggests that the figurine functioned as the replacement of a real person, accompanying the deceased in his grave.

1311 (sg. 1.2) is the only late sitting figurine with extended legs, normally an early feature.

Links with other groups

Taking Chancay-related traits as a starting point for the seriation of both sub-groups, the figurines fit into a regional pattern and many differences (see Catalogue) emerge between the northern and southern areas².

¹ Lilien (1956:254) who obviously had not seen 244, wrongly assumes that the similar 1750 (AMNH 41.1.8991) is the figure of a man.

² Only certain or fairly reliable provenances were taken into account: similar figurines but with unverifiable provenances are grouped around one or more with reliable origins. The resemblance with face-necks from a site was also taken into account (eg. 1198, 344, 345, 274 are classified with 1429 from Pachacamac).

In the north (Chancay to Chillón), the resemblance with the Chancay style can still be felt, in the shape of the figurines, the occurrence of extended arms (both mainly in sg. 1.1) or head-dress perforations. This area also has more hollow figurines, probably a survival of Chancay manufacturing techniques.

Note that figurines from the lower Chillón valley in both sub-groups are rather different (and varied!), showing a degree of stylistic independence—emerging towards the end of the Late Intermediate Period, when we can first isolate a local Chillón variant (see Chancay 1.6.3)—as well as links with the areas to the north and south. To give but a few examples:

- 250¹, 1346 and 1342 (sg. 1.1) are rather *sui generis* (see Pl.60); 1342 is included here because of the air-holes at the shoulders, a typical Late Horizon trait.
- 1343, 1520 and 1362 (sg. 1.2) are also unlike most other figurines in this group², though 1343 has the typical featureless back, and the others are made with one mold only; note that 1362 also has strings hanging from the necklace at the back (like many sg. 1.1 figurines from further north), though here they are painted.
- Finally the sitting black ware figurine (2189, sg. 1.1), said to come from Marquez, closely resembles Rimac valley figurines such as 1772 and 1774 (sg. 1.1).

In the south (Rimac to Lurín), no Chancay influence can be felt: here we find a different body-shape (in sg. 1.1), the total absence of extended arms, several different head-dress styles, as well as the absence of head-dress perforations³. Unfortunately we lack sufficient Ichma material to trace the survival of any more local Late Intermediate Period tradition or traditions in that area. The only transmitted trait could be the large ear-plugs and bulky necklaces, rarer in Chancay, but which occur in Late Intermediate Period Ichma figurines (see 2207, 2230, chapter 14).

2022 (LH 1.2) was excavated by Uhle in a grave in Chincha. Considering that no similar figurines occur on the South Coast, I feel that it is more likely to be a direct import from the Central Coast, than a local “Inca influenced Late Horizon variant...in use in an area under the influence of Pachacamac”(Menzel 1967:30 and Pl.XVIII, fig.41). Typical Late Horizon South Coast figurines look different (see fig.61, from Ica).

Context

At least 18 figurines were found in graves, ten of them documented (Appendix 3): 879 (sg. 1.1), the pairs of identical specimens 857/858 and 860/861, 1048, P126,



Fig.61

¹ 250, similar to 1346, is wrongly said to come from Chimbote.

² I doubt that the very similar 496 comes from Pachacamac, as alleged.

³ One exception is 1750 from Pachacamac which has one perforation visible, with another probably broken off.

1378, 1509 and 2022 (sg. 1.2). Note that of 879 only fragments of the head and the lower legs were preserved, but both were carefully buried.

2010 (sg. 1.2) from Uhle's Site T at Ancón was found below a midden layer without association (Uhle n.d.: vol VII, p.20).

The large gravelot associated with 1378 (sg. 1.2)—from the Rimac valley?—is of particular interest. It contained, among others, “a mummified adult right arm with a tattooed or painted hand or wrist, wrapped with hanks of cotton yarn alternatively white and brown, one blue hank near shoulder” (AMNH no.5202) and “the mummified head of small child (AMNH no.5203). The long catalogue entry (75 items) is followed by two further entries—no longer part of the same gravelot—reading: “5204: Mummified right arm, similar to 5204” and “5205: Mummified adult head, packed in 3-section plain weave cloth”. Some form of ritual burial springs to mind, but we may be dealing with finds from a looted cemetery, with discarded parts of mummified bodies.

P131 (sg. 1.2) was found in a hole dug between two platforms in Huaca I, Maranga (the huaca was being re-used as a cemetery), which also contained four burials, but the figurine is not listed as belonging to any of them (Jijón y Caamaño 1949:107). There is no information about the context of P125 (sg. 1.1), P129 and P130 (sg. 1.2) all from Huaca La Luz, Maranga.

2211 and 2212 (sg. 1.2) are said to come from a looted cemetery at Armatambo.

703 (sg. 1.2) comes from an area of late burials behind the Inca buildings at Puruchuco (Rimac Valley).

Several specimens, all in sg. 1.2, come from Pachacamac, though only three (1509, 1424, 1425) definitely come from burials and a fourth (1479/sg.1.2) probably does:

- 1509 comes from an Inca cemetery N/W of the town (Uhle 1903:66); 1424, 1425 come from burials excavated by Bandelier (AMNH, Catalogue); 1479 is said to come from Gravefield I;
- 1750, 1751, 1752 come from the *Chala* layer (Inca midden) of Cut 1, excavated by Strong and Corbett near the temple of the Sun (1943:fig.5);
- 2238, 2239 to 2233, and 2240 are surface finds from a large midden near the Lurín bridge beyond Pachacamac (P.Paredes, personal communication);
- 2234 may come from Pyramid I at Pachacamac¹ (P.Paredes, personal communication);

¹ For a description of similar structures see Paredes 1988.

The most interesting find of all was made at Armatambo (Surco) by *huaqueros* working for A. Bandelier. Seven figurines (1772 to 1775/sg. 1.1 and 1776 to 1778 in LH Group 2), were found together. Bandelier, writes in his diary on 19th October 1892 (n.d.: 178)¹:

“7 figures of human forms, hollow, in black pottery, showing sitting or squatting men with very large earrings, Orejones. These were found, each one in a niche, composed only of three adobes each. Those niches were discovered today and at a depth of about 8 feet, behind a rock, and in front of them the soil was filled with bundles of herbs and with bodies of field rats [guinea-pigs] enveloped in herbs, all much decomposed. Behind those niches, nothing was found, by digging further into the soil. The soil lies on the utmost slope behind the cluster of ruins immediately west of the largest rectangular platform. No human remains were found in the vicinity.”

The location inside individual niches and the offerings found in association obviously points to a shrine. There are several curious aspects to this group:

- Although Bandelier talks of men, of *Orejones*, all the figures show the double incision at waist level, part of the genital triangle, and all have some indication of the vulva, although it is sometimes placed very high (1774 to 1778). So they are all females. Their elaborate adornments are in keeping with other Late Horizon female figurines.
- The difference in size of the seven figures could suggest a family, with the larger figures representing adults, the smaller infants or adolescents². But the absence of males makes such an interpretation less likely. Besides:
- Not all of the smaller specimens are similar: three of them have the cranial deformation resulting in an elongated head which, as we have seen (Chancay Group 2), is typical for the Sierra. In the Chancay culture this feature occurs on figures which can be often identified as adults because they carry children or loads on their backs. So it is less likely that the smaller Armatambo figures depict children.

All this leads me to believe that the shrine grouped several deities or *huacas*, local as well as foreign, and of different hierarchical status. Sacrifices of guinea pigs and plants, perhaps also of chicha and other offerings which have left no trace, were made at the shrine. This is the only instance where such an interpretation of the function of figurines can be made with a fair degree of plausibility.

To recap: although a number of figurines come from graves, a fair number, especially at Pachacamac, were found in midden strata. This may mean that during the Late Horizon figurines at the site were also used as votive gifts or in curing or other practices, ultimately not being deposited in graves. Finally the set of seven figurines found by Bandelier at Armatambo were probably venerated in a shrine.

¹ Curiously Hyslop and Mujica (1992) who studied the Bandelier material at the AMNH only list these figurines and illustrate some of them, without mentioning how they were found.

² A family of figurines found in a burial in Ica is described by Menzel (1967:15-38).

Geographic Distribution

	Huaura/Chancay	Ancón	Chillón	Rimac	Lurín
Sub-group 1.1					
Certain		4		7	
Fairly reliable	2	5	2	1	
Unverifiable	2	3	1		1
Sub-group 1.2					
Certain		7		8	15 + 1 Chíncha
Fairly reliable	4		7	8	1
Unverifiable	1	5	1	2	1

The unusual aspect of this distribution is that so many figurines come from the Rimac and Lurín valleys, a rare phenomenon in previous Central Coast groups, and for which there is no ready explanation. Previously I suggested that the lack of material from Rimac and Lurín may be due to site destruction resulting from the expansion of colonial and post-colonial Lima: there is no apparent reason why Late Horizon figurines should not conform to this pattern. One specimen (2022) is probably a Pachacamac import in Chíncha.

The very small number of figurines from the Huaura or Chancay valleys appears to confirm my findings that a) some black-on-white figurines continued to be produced in the Chancay heartland during the Late Horizon and b) some red- and black ware figurines with late features should be assigned to the Chancay culture (see Chancay Chronology Phase 4, also Chancay groups 1.6 and 6). The large number of non-Chancay figurines from the Ancón/Chillón area shows that this region was no longer under direct Chancay influence, a trend starting towards the end of the Late Intermediate Period.

Chronology

Starting with figurines from gravelots with associated pottery, it is obvious that—with the exception of the Chíncha grave—all the vessels belong to the typical local Late Horizon ceramic style, also found with typical Inca pottery. Face-necks like P.6608 (found with 879/sg.1.1 in Ancón 1 grave T.472), P.5184 (found with 860,861/sg.1.2 in A1/T.362), those found with P126, or arybaloid jars like P.5824 (found with 1048 in A1/T.422) date unmistakably to the Late Horizon. A variety of scientific ceramic tests carried out in Berlin on the Reiss and Stübel collection from Ancón have shown that the Inca material forms a fairly discreet group. 239 falls into that group (Haas 1986: 85, 311).

Although 1479 is said to come from Gravefield I at Pachacamac, where most figurines date to the late Middle Horizon and early LIP, this specimen definitely dates to the Late Horizon.

The three figurine fragments excavated by Strong and Corbett at Pachacamac (1750, 1751, 1752, original numbers respectively 73/41A, 165/41A and again 73/41a) are said to come from

the *Chala* layer (Inca midden) of Cut 1. The style of the figurines is “Inca or Inca associated” (Strong and Corbett 1943: 76).

Uhle’s grave E6 from Chinchá is dated to the Late Horizon by Menzel (1966:110, 132; 1967:29), and—with some reservations—also by Kroeber and Strong (1924:29), though the pottery is local; had the latter realised how typical the intrusive figurine (2022) is for the Late Horizon, it would have further confirmed their views on the relationship between the Late Chinchá and Inca cultures in the area (1924:47-50).

To conclude: the numerous stylistic elements shared by the figurines in this group with Late Horizon vessels clearly date them to the Late Horizon. Some of these features are (cf. face-necks illustrated above, in Appendix 3 and in publications referred to):

- large semi-circular eye-brows and modelled almond-shaped eyes with dark pupils outlined in a lighter colour, or
- incised eyes without eye-brows;
- very short arms projecting forward, or
- folded arms, sometimes outlined in a different colour¹;
- similar head-dresses and ear-plugs (but not necklaces, which are rarely shown on face-necks).

Other typical Late Horizon traits, but which only occur on figurines are:

- a double incision at the waist;
- a naturalistic representation of the genitals, often showing the clitoris.

GROUP 2: LATE HORIZON FIGURINES WITH ELONGATED HEAD

Table 58

Catalogue vol. II, pp. 397-398

Plate 63

Sample: 14 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Although this group contains figurines related both to Late Horizon sub-group 1.1 and 1.2 (e.g. hand-made, hollow specimens as well as figurines made of one mold, with a featureless back), the differences are not clear-cut enough and there are not enough specimens to warrant the sub-division into sub-groups.

Basically, apart from the elongated, conical head, the figurines are very similar to Late

¹ Extended versus folded arms are not a reliable criterium for dating, because extended arms—though no longer universal as in classic Chancay—can survive in the former Chancay culture area, also on face-necks.

Horizon Group 1. Seven figurines are standing, seven are sitting, eleven have folded arms, three extended ones. All, except two figurines without genitals, are female. Many have large circular ear-plugs and wear necklaces.

The sample is too small to show notable differences between the Chancay, Ancón-Chillón and Rimac areas. There are no figurines from the Lurín valley.

DISCUSSION

Special features

1874 may be a fake: the head and body look mold-made, but the arms are applied. It features marked joins down the sides, though it is solid, with no air-holes. The surface colour (slip?) is an unusual tan and some turquoise powdery pigment has been rubbed into the cracks, as if to imitate metal corrosion.

Links with other groups

This group is related to Chancay group 2, which also features the *deformación por llautu* normally found in the Sierra (see chapter 13). But apart from the elongated head, the figurines no longer show associated features, like a load or child carried on the back, large *tupos* or a wide belt.

One figurine (1382) wears a necklace of large single beads, which were typical of Huaura and occur occasionally in Chancay. Interestingly the hands are placed in the genital area, like on Huaura 1 and some Huaura 2.1 figurines.

1712, a solid specimen said to come from the Huacho area, has features typical for the hollow Late Horizon sub-group 1.1 figurines from Ancón: a necklace with hanging ties at the back, as well as the “bridge” between the feet.

Interestingly, unlike LH group 1, no face-necks similar to group 2 are found, though this may be due to the fact that the head also forms the spout of the vessel.

Context

P132 was found in a cache of vessels broken on purpose at Huaca Pucllana in Lima (Flores Espinoza 1981). 1776, 1777, 1778 come from a shrine at Armatambo (see Late Horizon Gr.1).

Geographic distribution

	Huaura/Chancay	Ancón	Chillón V.	Rimac	Lurín
Certain				5	
Fairly reliable	1				
Unverifiable		1		1	

Note that not a single specimen with elongated head comes from the Chillón Valley: the same also occurs in Chancay 2. Nor is this type found at Pachacamac.

Chronology

This group can be satisfactorily dated to the Late Horizon through its resemblance with Late Horizon Group 1 and the criteria listed there.

The only puzzle is P132. Flores (1981:69) tells us that this figurine (her fig.3) was found in a cache of broken vessels at the Huaca Pucllana (or Juliana) in Miraflores, Lima. The other vessels (1981: figs.4 to 7) undoubtedly belong to the Nievería style of the early Middle Horizon or even to the earlier Lima style. However it is totally impossible that fig. 3 (e.g. P132) should be of such an early date, because it has all the classic attributes of the Late Horizon: thick eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes with white outline of the lids, huge circular ear-plugs with incised circles, wide necklace. It also appears to be made of black ware with white (?) post-fired incrustations, again a late type of ware. So either the record of the deposit is incorrect or—an unlikely scenario—the earlier vessels were deposited at a much later date.

As stated above 1874 may be a fake.

GROUP 3: LATE HORIZON SPECIALS

• SUB-GROUP 3.1: FOUR SIMILAR BUT VERY UNUSUAL FIGURINES (FAKES?)

Table 59

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.398-399

Plate 64

Sample: 4 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Standing figurines with naturalistic features and apparently undeformed head. Narrow body, hands folded above the waist, modelled generally separate legs. Two males, one female?, one with no sex indicated. No head-dress, clothing or ear-plugs, but all wear a bulky necklace.

DISCUSSION

Context: No data.

Geographic distribution: 1452 is said to come from Ancón (unverifiable).

Chronology

Although these four figurines have some normal Late Horizon features (large modelled eyes, shape of the nose and - to a lesser degree - of the ears, protruding shoulders, double incision at

waist) there are a number of other features which are so unusual that each time I came across one such specimen I noted “fake?” in my notes, only realising later that I had recorded four such figurines. These unusual features are:

- Shape of the head, showing no deformation, especially visible in the profile of 1133;
- Male genitals (187, 1452), rare on the Central Coast and never shown on typical Late Horizon figurines (groups 1,2);
- Bulging lower abdomen;
- Realistic modelling of legs, but very small feet.
- Two-mould figurine (1133), probably hollow, but without airholes: this can happen, but rarely.
- Frontal mould figurines (187, 1452) with unfinished (i.e. not filled-in) back;
- Surface treatment (dirtied on purpose?).

Another curious feature is the similarity between two pairs, 1133/ 40 and 187/1452: both pairs have very similar sizes and similar assymetric arms. In fact each pair could have been made from the same mold. We have seen that figurines made from the same mold can be found together, but here the figurines are of different sexes: no other males occur in Late Horizon groups. They also lack other gender differentiating attributes, such as head-dress or body-paint, as in Huaura and Chancay-Huaura groups.

Interestingly at least three of the figurines come from old collections: the Manchester specimen (1133) from a collection made in Peru between 1860 and 1900, the Hamburg and Smithsonian figurines (187, 1452) were acquired by the museums before 1879 and 1887 respectively. The British Museum figurine was donated in 1927 by a Mrs.J.E Birch (no other data made available). However XIXth century fakes are not unknown in Peru, in particular of easily produced objects: there are some fake Chimu figurines in various museums and several small fake metal Inca figurines at the Vienna museum.

In this particular case one of the molds may well have been original—although the shape of the head is very unusual—but somewhat modified, for instance by applying male genitals. A second mold may have been made to match the first.

Another possibility is that these figurines were produced in the early colonial period, when practices such as craneal deformation were disappearing and attributes such as the sex of the divinity or mythical personage represented was slowly being forgotten. This second possibility must also be considered, in view of a few other unusual specimens (see sub-group 3.2)

• **SUB-GROUP 3.2: MISCELLANEOUS FIGURINES**

Table 59

Catalogue: Vol. II, pp. 399-400

Plate 64

Sample: 3 figurines

For the **characteristics** of these figurines refer to the catalogue.

DISCUSSION

Links with other groups

When one has a certain familiarity with figurines, it is obvious that these specimens come from the Central Coast and that they must date to the end of the Late Horizon or early colonial times. However it is not easy to pinpoint separate features linking them to typical Late Horizon figurines (groups 1,2). Some of these features—not present on all the specimens—are:

- The shape of the eye-brows and eyes (467,1050,1705);
- A relatively smaller head (1050,1705);
- Naturalistic ears (1050,1705);
- A narrow body (467,1050);
- One (frontal) mould with a near featureless back (467);
- Emphasized shoulders (467);
- The vulva indicated by two incisions (467).

If we compare them to sub-group 3.2 (above) we see that one—possibly two—of the figurines (1705, 1050?) have undeformed heads. 467 shares what one could call “double eyelids”, e.g. the actual lids are embedded in an outer depression (eye-socket?). Finally both 1050 and 467 show some modelling of the knees.

1050 also shares a feature with late Chancay figurines (e.g 413/1.6.1, 777/1.6.2) namely the incised triangle outlining the buttocks, mirroring the genital triangle in front. The incised hair occurs ^{on} late Chancay specimens (e.g. 1866/1.5.2a) and on Late Horizon figurines (510/LH 1.1, 1875/LH 2). It is very common on Inca metal figurines.

Curiously 467 shares traits with Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon South Coast figurines, namely the straight section on the inner side of the legs and the incisions marking the arms at the back. The only similar nose occurs on a very unusual figurine, probably dating dated to the late Middle Horizon or early Late Intermediate Period (see 98: chapter 11, Unaffiliated figurines). It is possible that 467 comes from a valley between the Central and South Coast, like Cañete.

Context: No data.

Geographic distribution: No data.

Chronology

The links with other groups above clearly show that we are dealing with very late figurines, made in the Late Horizon or even in early colonial times.

CONCLUSION

Although the changes in the figurine material during the Late Horizon are easily recognizable, one cannot speak of a radical break with the earlier traditions. The style is certainly local in origin, without any outside (Inca?) admixtures. It is obviously influenced by Chancay iconography and perhaps by the Ichma style—if a definite Ichma figurine style actually existed during the Late Intermediate. For the time being such a style is not clearly defined enough to trace its possible influence.

Iconographically we see a change in overall appearance with much larger eyes, emphasized shoulders, the gradual phasing out of extended arms, often a “bridge” between the feet, the introduction of new head-gear, bulky necklaces and large ear-plugs. The main innovation is technical, with the spread of one-mold figurines.

The uniformity of the style shows that the Lurín, Rimac and Chillón valleys and Ancón were in close contact with each other, whilst the northern sector (Chancay, Huaura, Supe?) remained somewhat outside the mainstream.

CHAPTER 16

FIGURINES ON CERAMIC CRADLES, LITTERS AND PALANQUINS

INTRODUCTION

Central Coast figurines can be found attached to contraptions made either of real reeds or split cane, or made of pottery, generally part of the same mold as the figurine itself.

Litters or beds are also known in other parts of Central and South America¹, though generally the litters are not made of parallel reeds or cane, but rather have the form of a slab, often with feet and/or some ornamentation or attachments, much more like a bed.

Based on archaeological and ethnographic evidence I tentatively suggest that in the Peruvian context litters (beds) represent either cradles and contraptions to carry infants or funerary litters.

GROUP 1: FIGURINES ON CERAMIC CRADLES

Table 60

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.401

Plate 64

Sample: 5 Figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Figurines representing infants on cradles. Only the face of the infant is visible, the body is covered by a patterned blanket. The ceramic cradles imitate a wooden or cane cradle, with a rectangular frame and bars projecting at the head end; the backs mostly show split canes secured to the frame.

The specimens are mold-made, hollow, with air-holes at the sides of the cradle.

DISCUSSION

The use of this type of contraption as an infant cradle is illustrated by a Moche figurine (Fig. 62) shown with just such a "carry cot" on its back. In modern Peru, although peasant women generally carry their infants on their backs wrapped only in a blanket tied on the woman's breast by a knot, one



Fig.62

¹ See, amongst others, Lehmann 1951; Morss 1952; Winning 1972; Krutt 1975.

occasionally also sees a cane or wooden support inside the blanket. An Inca cradle, depicted by Guaman Poma (1936:212) looks different, raised off the floor by two legs at the head-end, and by a lower plint at the foot-end.

Cradles were also used as supports for contraptions inducing cranial deformation (Weiss 1962:25 and fig.3; see also an example from Ecuador in Reichlen and Reichlen 1983-1985: figs 2,3). A figurine from the Nepeña valley (Fig.63) features a deforming device. It consists of two straps, diagonally attached to the sides of the cradle at the back, then passing over the middle of the head and forehead, descending over the eyes, on either side of the nose and mouth and fixed at the front to a transversal blanket, covering the body.



Fig. 63

Context:

2060, from Uhle's excavations at Chimú Capac (Supe), presumably comes from a grave. An additional functional dimension is given by Arriaga. He reports that cradles were considered as real *huacas*.

"...they are made of two ornate poles, ending with faces, which were named after *huacas*. They have officials in charge of the cradles and when a cradle has to be made all the relatives get together with the official and *chicha* is prepared for that day: they fast on salt and *aji*, but break the fast with drinking. The official sprinkles each stick with *chicha* and talks to the cradle, calling the name of the *huaca* given to it and asking it to protect the child who would sleep in it..." (1968/1621:205, my translation).

Arriaga also reports that 357 cradles were burnt in the course of the extirpation campaign (1968/1621:200).

Morss (1954: 53ff) reports that in the American Southwest, representations of babies-on-cradles were used in increase cults.

Geographic Distribution

540 and 2060 come from the Supe and Huaura valley respectively, but it is unlikely that 503 comes from Pachacamac. Its face and that of 2133 have a Chimú look about them and both are made of black ware, so they may actually come from the North Coast.

Chronology

2060 from Chimú Capac dates, like the rest of the Supe figurines from the site, to MH3. 540, similar in appearance and of a white-on-red ware, also belongs to the late MH (3-4). The

two black ware figurines belong to the later EIP (6-7?); 2132, with its thick, semi-circular eye-brows, could belong to the end of the EIP.

GROUP 2: FIGURINES ON CERAMIC FUNERARY LITTERS

Table 60

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.401-402

Plate 65

Sample: 21 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

This group differs from the preceding one in that the figurines are lying on the litters, without being covered or attached to them. The litters are also different in that a number of them have projections at both ends (some now broken) and all have several projections at either side.

The atypical 1488, from an Inca cemetery at Pachacamac, is resting on a bed with four legs. All except 464 are mold-made in a variety of wares and hollow, with air-holes at the sides.

DISCUSSION

Cieza de León (1984/1553: chapter LXIII) mentions that in the province of Chinchán, burials were “...echados en barbacoas o camas hechas de cañas”. For the Central Coast the use of cane litters for funerary purposes is documented from at least the Early Intermediate¹ to the Late Intermediate (Reiss and Stübel 1880-87: Taf.29; Kroeber 1954: 32-35; Stumer 1953: 45, 1954b: 221; Sestieri 1971:102). The study sample also includes four ceramic figurines on cane litters² and the following remarks also apply to them.

Although in Mesoamerica figurines on litters have occasionally been interpreted as burials (Krut 1975:85) in Peru this interpretation is rarely put forward. Kroeber (1954: 52) suggests it for a rag-doll tied to a litter found at Maranga, no doubt because he himself excavated many such burials at the site; Fleming et al. (1983:152) for a ceramic figurine³ attached to a reed litter from Pachacamac; Lilien's (1956:181) attention is drawn to this interpretation by Stumer. The catalogue entry for 389 at the MVB reads: “Figure lying on stretcher”, with “stretcher” crossed out and replaced by “cradle” (my translation); a stretcher is also recorded for the cane litter of 1329 (Chancay 1.2.4) in the catalogue entry of the MVV. Curiously, Reiss and Stübel

¹ 80% of the bodies excavated at Playa Grande had been placed on litters (Stumer 1953:45)

² 431 and 1533/early MH Group 4; 449/“Punch”; 1329/Chancay 1.2.4.

³ See 1533, early MH Group 4.

excavated the body of an infant on such a litter, but persist in stating that "a *real* cradle was used as a coffin" (Haas 1986:306, my translation).

My own reasons for tentatively suggesting that the litters in this group are funerary litters are :

1. The differences with the cradles described in Group 1 :

- The figures are not covered or secured to the litter as ethnographic evidence shows is the case with infants. Winning (1972:126) thinks that figures prepared for burial should also be strapped to the litter, but I suggest that the laying out stage may be represented. This point does not apply to the figurines on cane litters, which *have* to be attached to the litters. The fact that some of the latter are wrapped in textiles does not invalidate my argument: compare a figurine on a cane litter (Haas 1986: no.125¹) with the funerary litter of a child illustrated by Schuler-Schömig (1984:161).
- One problematic figurine in this context is the atypical 1488, dating to the LH, which lies on a bed or cradle with legs, similar to the one depicted by Guaman Poma (1936:212). But unlike the tightly swathed infant on that cradle, this figurine is naked.
- Some figurines (260, 262, 464) are considerably smaller than the litters on which they lie, and their head projects above the upper edge: this does not occur in present day Peruvian cradles.
- The occurrence of projections at both ends of the litter (on some, though not all, of the funerary litters) and more importantly the lateral projections: some real funerary litters also have these projections (Reiss and Stübel 1880-87: Taf.29; Kroeber 1954: fig.21; Stumer 1953: fig.4), as well as the cane miniature litters with figurines. The lateral projections appear too short to have been used for carrying the litter. But they may have been necessary to strengthen the frame, if the litter was to support the heavier weight of an adult; alternately they could have been used for securing the ropes needed to lower the litter into a grave.

However it may be that these differences between cradles and litters are stylistic rather than functional: some of the cradles come from further north along the coast (Supe, North Coast?), and/or date to the late MH, whereas a number of the "funerary" litters definitely come from the area between Chancay and Pachacamac and date mainly to the LIP or LH.

2. The appearance of the figurines on the funerary litters:

- The position of several figurines with their arms resting along the body is unusual, particularly in the case of Chancay figurines (1581, 2134439, 415, 1023, 260, 262) and suggests an inert body. Knowing of the use of funerary litters the most obvious explanation is a corpse, but it could also be interpreted as a sick or drugged individual (Winning 1972:127).
- The marked sexual characteristics such as breasts and vulva of the female figurines suggest adults rather than infants. However note that an Ecuadorian figurine with a

¹ This figurine was not recorded.

deforming appliance, *ipso facto* representing an infant, also has adult features (Reichlen and Reichlen 1983-1985: 1420).

- Some figurines have an elaborate head-dress or ear-plugs (P135, 260), unlikely on an infant.

3. Some functional considerations :

- In his excavations at Playa Grande near Ancón, Stumer came across a mock burial, containing several gourds, ceramic vessels and other offerings, together with a wooden log—a precious object on the desert coast—strapped to a funerary litter (1953: 45 and figs.4,5,6). Stumer suggests that this burial may have replaced a corpse that had been lost at sea or have some other magical significance. By extending this symbolism, the simulated burial of a figurine on its litter may have replaced the actual human sacrifice of an attendant or relative (Schuler-Schömig 1984: 156ff).
- While excavating an Early Intermediate dwelling at Cerro Culebras, Chillón, Stumer found—in three doorways—“...the wrapped body of an infant...complete with miniature litter, not in a grave, but merely placed on the floor of the doorway” (1954b:221). We have few context for figurines on litters (ceramic or cane): those come from graves. But some also may have been originally placed as propitiatory or protective offerings inside dwellings.

The preceding considerations are only an attempt at an alternative interpretation of the litters in this sample as funerary litters. Considering that actual burials on litters are generally found face down, with the litter on top of the corpse (Stumer 1953: 46; 1954b: 221; Kroeber 1954: 32), it would be significant for the interpretation of ceramic figurines on litters, if they were also found placed face down as burial goods.

Context

There are two gravelots (P.10326 and 1581). The latter figurine was found inside the mummy bundle, in front of the legs (see Appendix 3).

Geographic distribution

	Huaura/Chancay	Ancón	Chillón V.	Rimac	Lurín
Certain		1	1		1
Fairly reliable	2	2			
Unverifiable	2	1		1	

The typical litters are more common in the northern sector: in addition to given provenances many are typical for the Huaura and Chancay styles. 1834, a typical Huaura figurine, is unlikely to come from Chimbote. The litter found at Pachacamac (1488) is of a different design.

Chronology

- P.10326 (a rough sketch), associated with what looks like a Teatino jar, could date to MH3/4.

- 1834 to P136 show typical Huaura 2.1 traits from the middle range of that group and probably date to the early LIP (1-3).
- 535, a Chancay figurine with its folded arms, circular eyes and cheek zoning, is probably slightly earlier than 389 to 1022 which are classic Chancay phase 3 figurines (LIP 5-7). Note the similarity of 1023 with the Jecuan sub-style, including the line across the chest and double “specs”. 260 and 262, also Chancay, made of black ware with post-fired incrustations, date to the end of that phase or phase 4 (LIP 8, LH).
- 1581 to 415 are more difficult to date: they share a standardized body and a different litter, with pointed uprights and parallel rows of string at the back. Three features suggest an earlier date than classic Chancay: the marked bilobation of 1581, 2134, 415, more common in early Chancay, the ware, perhaps of the Ancón sub-style (439 comes from Ancón) and the fact that 1581 may have been associated with a Chancay 3-colour vessel¹. 1807, with a similar body, but lacking the bilobation, and with a litter and ware like the classic Chancay specimens, is the “missing link”. I suggest that 1581 to 415 date to late Chancay phase 2, whilst 1807 could date to early phase 3 (LIP 4 to early 5).
- 464, from Huacho, is related to the Huaura 2.3 figurines, hand-made and fired at low temperatures. It also features the necklace of large single beads, typical for the early LIP, so I suggest a date of LIP 2-4.
- 1488 comes from Uhle’s excavations in the north-eastern sector of Pachacamac, which yielded exclusively LH material.

GROUP 3: FIGURINES ON CERAMIC PALANQUINS

Table 60

Catalogue: Vol.II, pp.403

Plate 66

Sample: 7 figurines

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

Rectangular platforms with two carrying poles at both ends and a backrest with a decorative panel at the back. The principal personage is generally sitting cross-legged on this platform, leaning against the backrest, with arms resting at the sides. Different personages can be represented (see Discussion). Secondary personages can be shown carrying the palanquin, or sitting or standing on it.

The palanquins are hand-made, solid. All are made of Chancay black on white ware.

¹ FMC 168958, listed with the mummy 109, which contained 1581, but with the mention “possibly from mummy 107” (Kroeber n.d., under June 16, 1925). It is likely that the two mummies were found close to each other, so they might date to the same period.

DISCUSSION

The terms *palanquin* or *sedan-chairs* are not entirely correct, as both imply a closed-in seat. Here we have a ceremonial seat, obviously designed to be carried, rather like the papal "sedia gestatoria". In pre-Columbian Peru such palanquin figurines seem confined to the Moche and Chancay culture. The Moche palanquins have a raised seat and shorter carrying poles (Fig.64). There are also numerous Chancay *huacos* representing a personage carried on a palanquin¹.



Fig. 64

A variety of personages are represented on the Chancay palanquins: some of them can be linked with known Chancay types: all the figures of P137 wear the headdress typical for the Chancay attendant (Chancay group 4); 1857 has the lugs and cap with criss-cross decor associated with the Chancay "witch" (group 3) though it lacks the rotund body; the main personage on 1082 and the individual standing behind the head-rest on 1098 both have the cranial deformation *por llautu* typical for group 2.

Some of the personages represented are of high status: the central personage on P137 and 602 with their important ear-plugs and necklaces, as are 1082 and 1098 with their attendants. The latter shows a very small figure lying extended with its feet resting against a transversal bar, and could depict a dead child?

The panels attached to the back-rest show various geometric designs. The shape of these panels is reminiscent of the large "shields" carried by some of the "attendants" in group 4 (see Pl. 54: 533, 532, C10).

Context: No data.

Geographic distribution

Three fairly reliable provenances show two palanquins to come from Lauri, Chancay and one from Marquez, Chillón.

Chronology

All the specimen date to classic Chancay phase 3 (LIP 5-7).

¹ See for instance Lavalley and Lang 1982: 55.

CHAPTER 17

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters will have shown to what degree I have achieved the first aim of this study, which is to classify the figurines from the Central Coast of Peru, at the same time highlighting the “origin, evolution, location and interaction of figurine groups”.

The two other aims of the study have already been addressed indirectly in the discussion of each figurine group. This chapter sums up the evidence regarding:

- The function of the figurines.
- The cultural processes taking place on the Central Coast, also with reference to other areas of pre-Columbian Peru.

A letter published in “The Times” a few years ago put both these issues—and our possible approach to them—into a sobering focus:

“ Sir, Colonies of garden gnomes can be seen in Australia, South Africa and North America; probably throughout the English-speaking world. Are they truly British expatriates or are they, there and here, pervasive refugees from some other land? And what is it in their history or culture that keeps their women hidden?” (David Roberts, “The Times”, 1 February, 1991).

How would a scholar, armed with as little documentary evidence of European cultural history as we ultimately have of that of pre-Columbian Peru, answer the questions raised in this letter?

A. THE FUNCTION OF THE FIGURINES

The Andean world was permeated by the concept of the sacred. Murúa—amongst many other chroniclers—tells us that “...no había cosa fuera de los términos comunes, a quien no atribuyesen los indios alguna deidad y reverencia, ofreciendole sacrificios a su modo...” (1987:423)

In the course of this study, I have pointed out various interpretations and beliefs in relation to different figurine types or to special features inherent in some figurines. Here I shall look strictly at the possible function of the figurines.

The procedure adopted for this is the result partly of extensive reading of studies relating to figurines in other parts of the world, partly of observations relating to the material in hand. It consists of three main steps:

1. Gathering of functional data in the ethnohistoric and ethnographic literature.
2. Analyzing the information provided by the figurines themselves:
 - 2.1: Information inherent in the artifact:
 - 2.1.1: Physical attributes: Size, stability, manufacturing methods (hand- versus mold-made, careful or crude execution), signs of handling, etc.,
 - 2.1.2: Iconographic attributes: Sexual attributes, physical peculiarities, posture, dress, activity.
 - 2.2: Information provided by the context:
 - 2.2.1: Retrieval location (grave, midden, cache, domestic or ceremonial architecture;)
 - 2.2.2: Associations, especially in a burial context (single or multiple burial, sex, age, associated artifacts).
3. Testing the data gathered in steps 1 and 2 against the most commonly suggested functional models (toys, use in curing or related practices or as ritual objects).

1. Ethnohistoric and ethnographic data

A thorough search of the published chroniclers produced two surprising results:

- a) there is practically no mention of *ceramic* figurines as opposed to stone, metal and vegetal figurines;
- b) there is hardly any mention of figurines being *buried* with the dead.

Relevant quotations and implications of these findings are discussed in Appendix 4.

As far as ethnographic sources are concerned, it seemed reasonable to confine the search to the area of Peru, as a wider foray into anthropological sources could at best only yield hypothetical models. Unfortunately fairly extensive reading about present-day practices either amongst the hispanized population or amongst Amazon Indians produced no information at all about the use of human figurines—animal amulets and fetishes are still in use—be it in everyday life or in a ritual, including funerary, context. The only exception is the rare use of human figurines (often saints!) by *curanderos* (see below).

2. Functional information provided by the figurines

2.1: Information inherent in the artifact:

2.1.1: Physical attributes:

The largest figurine in the sample measures 76.0 cm (584, Chancay sg.1.5.2B), The smallest figurine 1.8 cm (1909a, Early MH Group 2), the average size of the figurines is 18.2 cm. There is an overall increase in size starting with later Huaura (sg.2.2.2) and classic Chancay through to the Late Horizon. Very small figurines, which could have been worn as amulets are relatively rare. Differences in size could mean a difference in function: the classic black-on-white *cuchimilcos*, for instance, fall into two clearly discrete groups according to their size alone, without any iconographic differences: the median size of sg.1.4.1 is 16.3 cm, that of sg. 1.4.2 is 62.5 cm.

As far as the stability of the figurines is concerned, this varies with the styles: Supe figurines standing on a flat base are quite stable, as are many of the Chancay “witches” (group 3), sitting Chancay hunchbacks (various groups) and their Late Horizon successors. But on the whole, it is astonishing how few figurines can really stand unaided—especially in Chancay—either because their feet are too small to support them—this is the case of many large *cuchimilcos*—or because they lean backwards or forwards at often exaggerated angles (see Pl. 41: 456; Pl. 44: 280; Pl. 42: 1357). The only exception are some of the large Chancay-Huaura figurines, which appear to have been deliberately filled with sand, to give them stability. Late Chancay and Late Horizon figurines made with one frontal mold only could not have been meant to stand.

The manufacturing technique changed radically with the introduction of the mold from the North Coast via the late MH Supe group. Before that all the figurines were hand-made, except for Early MH Group 3, probably an import on the Central Coast. From the Supe group onwards, mold-made figurines become the norm, though for technical reasons many of the larger figurines, especially in Chancay, are mold- and hand-made. There are however some notable exceptions to this rule both in Huaura and Chancay, where some figurine categories are entirely hand-made (Huaura 2.3, 4; Chancay 6). The end of the LIP and the LH see an important innovation in the manufacturing technique with the introduction of figurines made of one frontal mold only.

There are considerable differences in the quality of the manufacture. The Middle Formative generally produced carefully made figurines, in keeping with many Early Horizon wares. This is followed by a long period of cruder workmanship in late Formative, Early Intermediate and some early Middle Horizon groups. From then onwards, carefully crafted specimens can be

found together with crude versions of the same type. On the whole, greater care is lavished on larger specimens, especially on the large classic Chancay and Chancay-Huaura *cuchimilcos*.

No specific signs of handling have been detected on the figurines. Some form of mutilation may have occurred at Huachipa, where many heads only are found¹ or in late MH Group 1, where possible mutilation of the face occurs. Many specimens are in poor condition probably because the majority were used before deposition, though the deterioration can also result from conditions before and even after retrieval! However many of the large classic *cuchimilcos* (Chancay 1.4.2) were found in absolutely pristine condition, showing that they were made specifically as grave goods.

2.1.2: Iconographic attributes

Compared with figurines from Central America, Columbia or Ecuador the figurines of pre-Columbian Peru are very poor relations indeed. They lack the variety of expression, posture, accoutrements, activities, etc. Most Central Coast figurines are—within each culture—totally stereotyped. A greater variety of types appears in the Chancay culture, only to disappear again during the Late Horizon.

Central Coast figurines are generally standing, with arms folded at the chest or extended sideways. Until the end of the Middle Horizon 78.6% of the figurines have no clear sexual attributes²; from the Late Intermediate onwards, the ratio is reversed, with only 14 % lacking genitals, 77.5 % females and 8.5 % males. But sexual characteristics remain mostly underscored: the female genitals and breasts are discreetly depicted, except for early Huaura figurines with hands placed on the genitals (Huaura 1, a few Huaura 2.1 figurines), and some late Chancay and LH *cuchimilcos* with an emphasised clitoris. By contrast some of the males have very large penises, though never shown with an erection. Many males also have nipples.

Particular physical traits are rarely depicted, except for cranial deformation which is nearly always shown (front-occipital deformation, *deformación por llautu* resulting in an elongated head and “bilobation”³). Hunchbacks are also relatively numerous. Other infirmities or diseases are not depicted⁴.

¹ But heads are more likely to have been salvaged by amateur archaeologists. The only case of certain deliberate mutilation recorded by me is on a group of about 10 Moche figurines from Sausal, Chicama valley, which all had a large hole punched into the back *after* they had been fired.

² The calculation is based on all the figurines up to Chancay, except Huaura and Unaffiliated (Punch is included): total of figurines showing the genital area is 304; males: 8 (2.6%), females 57 (18.7%), no sexual attributes 239 (78.6%).

³ Discussed in Chancay Sub-Group 1.1, Special features.

⁴ One exception is SAC 218/Chancay 1.1.3 (Pl. 25) covered with “veruga”.

The posture is highly stereotyped: the figurines are mostly standing, 144 specimens (less than 10%) are sitting¹. Folded arms are standard until extended arms appear during the Late Intermediate, only to be phased out again in the Late Horizon figurines, where less than 20% still have extended arms.

Representation of clothing is often only shown in an abbreviated form: collars, belts, vertical panels imitating a textile, crossed *fajas* or string-vests. Very few figurines actually show more substantial clothing, though many figurines were dressed when found. Sometimes, instead of clothing, body-paint appears to be represented. But it is not clear whether features like face-paint, the outlining of the genital triangle or horizontal lines across the legs, represent body-paint as worn in reality, or whether this is simply an artistic convention.

Unlike clothing, the head-dress plays a very important role from the earliest times and is nearly always shown. Necklaces and ear-plugs are also quite common, but accessories—e.g. objects carried by the figurines—are practically non-existent.

Any *symbolic* significance of these accoutrements can only be guessed at. At one end of the spectrum, they may simply depict ordinary people in their everyday dress, at the other they may be invested with profound symbolic meaning, with representations of status or ethnic affiliation in between. We know of the symbolic language encoded in textiles and of the importance of headgear and ear-plugs in pre-Columbian Peru. It is worth noting that the latter are usually considered as representing high status in males, whereas here they are nearly always worn by females (viz. the female 244, LH sg. 1.1!).

2.2: Information provided by the context:

2.2.1: Retrieval locations

It is difficult to establish exactly how many specimens have an acceptably documented provenance²:

a. Graves:

There are several degrees of certainty rating regarding figurines from graves:

- 107 figurines come from *documented graves* (e.g. 6.8%, including the Litters);
- Over 150 specimens *certainly* come from graves: these include excavations by Reiss and Stübel at Ancón, by Uhle in the Chillón valley, as well as gravelots acquired by Bandelier from Ancón or by Uhle from Quintay;

¹ This includes figurines from Aspero, whose posture is not obvious, Chancay sg. 2.3, where about half the figurines are sitting, and sgs. 3.1, 3.2, where the sitting posture is a specific characteristic. Without these, the proportion of sitting figurines would be less than 4%.

² A good example of the ambiguity of provenance information is that of Formative figurines from the Lurin valley (chapter 5).

- The bulk of the material, at least from the Middle Horizon onwards, *very probably* comes from graves, including many figurines acquired by the MAL in the Chancay and Huaura valleys, figurines from Ancón in museum collections, etc.

b. Middens and domestic contexts:

We are told that the preceramic figurines from Rio Seco probably come from a midden, as well as most of the Formative figurines from Ancón and the Lurín valley. However it is possible that habitation sites also formed part of these middens, a fact with some bearing on the function.

The late Formative-early EIP figurines are more problematic. At the Tablada de Lurín figurines were found in graves, at Cerro Trinidad both in graves and in middens. The bulk of the material—from Huachipa—comes from an undocumented context. As for the numerous contemporary figurines which Ravines excavated at Garagay (Ravines et al 1982: 158)¹, we have no contextual data. They may come from the reutilisation of the ceremonial centre as a cemetery (ibid., p.136), but could conceivably have been deposited in other ways..

From the Middle Horizon onwards very few specimens are documented from middens. A few come from midden layers in the Ancón necropolis, so they may have been originally linked with burials. A slightly larger number are Late Horizon surface finds at Pachacamac.

To recap: some of the midden contexts may have been domestic; but no figurine was found in a documented domestic context—as is, for instance, the case of late Moche figurines found at Galindo (G. Bawden, personal communication).

c. Ceremonial or ritual contexts:

Very few figurines have been found in a ritual context. These include the preceramic figurines from El Aspero (chapter 4), Ichma and LH2 offerings found at Huaca Pucllana (P123, 2323, chapter 14; P132, chapter 15) and the group of Late Horizon figurines found in a small precinct at Surco-Armatambo (1772-1778, chapter 15). A large black *cuchimilco* (P109, Chancay sg. 6.2, chapter 13) found at Maranga, may also have had some ritual purpose.

2.2.2: Burial associations:

Of the 69 graves with detailed gravelots, 50 graves—associated with 66 figurines (4.2 % of total!)—contain data about the burials: statistically this is totally insignificant.

There are 30 children, seven adolescents, 23 adults and over 25 or more burials of indeterminate age. There is no obvious correlation between the number of figurines and the number of dead in any grave: the number varies from one to four figurines for one corpse, as

¹ The 81 figurine excavated fragments were not made available for this study.

well as one figurine for four or more corpses etc. It is particularly regrettable that we have no data about the burials associated with several *different* Chancay figurine types, such as Uhle's grave A1, B1 and B2.

Regarding the grave goods: pottery is nearly always present, but considering the size of the sample no valid observations can be made about the number and type of associated vessels. As far as other grave goods are concerned spindles, sewing baskets and implements stand out as being present in the majority of graves, regardless of the sex and age of the buried. In one Late Horizon grave (Ancón 1, T. 422) 76 spindles were found with one single *fardo*. However, since no study exists of gravelots in general, it is impossible to say whether sewing equipment is a standard grave good¹ or whether there is a specific connection between figurines and sewing equipment.

3. Interpretation

Since human effigies have been manufactured and used all over the world from the earliest times and since they have been interpreted in an infinite number of ways, what can we infer—from the few elements listed above—specifically about the function of the Peruvian figurines?

It seems that during the Formative figurines functioned as amulets or household gods, though they also occur in graves. The fish-shape of many of the early Ancón figurines may link them to concepts of marine fertility and the increase of marine resources in the same way as later maize dolls were made specifically for the increase of the maize yield or figures modelled from llama fat for the increase of cattle. Note that—with the exception of a few specimens—the female aspect of these figurines is underscored.

From the end of the Formative and during the early EIP figurines were found in graves, but their quantity (as at Huachipa and Garagay) could indicate that they were also used in a domestic context, as above, or in curing or magical practices: the large proportion of head fragments could point to a related ritual mutilation.

The scarcity of figurines during the later part of the Early Intermediate has already been remarked upon. It may indicate a shift in religious beliefs and practices.

From the Middle Horizon onwards it is clear that the figurines were nearly always deposited in graves, though this does by no means exclude their use prior to deposition.

Let us examine some of the most frequent functional interpretations of figurines found in graves:

¹ The fact that grave goods do not necessarily reflect the sex or age of the buried person is extensively documented by Schuler-Schönmig (1984).

- Early archaeologists like Reiss and Stübel considered figurines to be children's toys, especially since many were found dressed or wrapped in rags. It is likely that *some* figurines were dolls and that they could have been deposited in the graves as such: in this sample marginally more infant than adult burials contain figurines, sometimes also associated with miniature vessels. However:
 - One would expect dolls to have been hand-modelled rather than mold-made, a much more elaborate procedure.
 - It is unlikely that in a pre-industrial society, children's toys would be so stereotyped, within each culture.
 - Very large specimens or those with explicit sexual characteristics cannot have been toys.
 - The presence of textile clothing is not a proof that figurines were toys. In an Andean context clothes are likely to have a ritual significance¹.
- In curing practices: Although the chroniclers do not record the use of *ceramic* figurines in curing practices, we can assume that these fulfilled the same functions as stone, metal or wooden figurines or *conopas* (see Appendix 4). To-day male and female figurines (often representing saints) are still used by *curanderos* (Sharon 1972). Uhle records two "medicine bags" in burials containing figurines (see Gravelots to 2012/Supe and 1516/Supe-Pachacamac Hybrid). Curing practices vary greatly. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1961: 232 and note 4) speaks of Colombian figurines discarded after use, and therefore crudely made or mass-produced. In such cases one can expect to find large assemblages of figurine *fragments*, recovered from middens or signs of specific "modifications" or mutilations of the figurines. None of this occurs in our sample². However other practices, which could not be detected in the archaeological evidence, also existed: Arriaga (1968/1621:214) relates that during birth the personal *conopa* of the mother was placed on her breasts. There may have been many different instances of use. Many Supe figurines are rattles, still used to-day in curing practices. It is less likely that very large figures, difficult to manipulate, were used in curing practices.
- In magical or other ritual practices: Again I have found no records of *ceramic* figurines being used in such instances, but many other *conopas* were. Arriaga (1968/1621:204-5, 222) tells us that such *conopas* were kept in families and passed on through inheritance. The cult of the *conopas* was secret, which may mean that they were not displayed like icons or statues of saints would be in the Christian world. Hence no necessity to make them stable. Murúa (1987/n.d.: 441) relates **malevolent magical practices**, where ceramic and other figurines were made of people in order to harm them. They could also have been used in rituals of *pago*, a payment made to the spirits to obtain a variety of favours (Flores Ochoa 1976). The cache of preceramic figurines at Aspero was probably connected with the consecration of the building.
- The interpretations of figurines in a funerary context are infinite, from the servant or attendant in the after-life, to the protector—both of the deceased from malevolent spirits *and* of the living from harm by the deceased—or expiator of sins. The fact that different figurine types (*cuchimilcos*, figurines with elongated head, the "witch" or monkeys) are found in the same grave or even inside the same *fardo* may mean that different types assumed different functions. It has been suggested that figurines replaced actual human sacrifices in graves (Schuler-Schömig 1984). The author lists features shared by the dead and the figurines alike, such as: a cotton-plug containing a metal plate, placed in the

¹ Miniature garments are found in sacrificial burials of young girls at Pacatnamu (Horié 1990-1991: 91).

² Except possibly at Garagay and Huachipa (see above).

mouth¹, red post-fired pigment on the face and the use of litters. This interpretation is strengthened by the large *cuchimilcos* in pristine condition (Chancay sg.1.4.2), obviously manufactured specifically for deposition in graves. We also know that in Inca rituals, human sacrifices, mainly of children, were sometimes replaced by figurines made of gold or silver.

- In a strictly religious context: There are many instances in pre-Columbian Peru, where effigies were adored as *huacas* (see Appendix 4), though we are told again and again that these were often plain stones. The sample only provides one instance in which seven figurines, found by Bandelier in a shrine at Armatambo, were the object of veneration with sacrifices of guinea pigs and plants (see LH Sub-group 1.1). It is also possible that some of the larger figurines, especially the Chancay-Huaura figurines filled with sand to give them stability, were venerated in domestic or communal shrines. But there is no explicit evidence linking Central Coast figurines with a specific cult, such as, say, the cult of Pachamama, the Earth Mother. The only possible two exceptions are the identification of Chancay Group 2 figurines with Raiguana, the dispenser of crops, and that of figurines with a fish and/or bird decor with Urpayhuachac, a goddess of fish and marine fertility². Note that on Chancay-Huaura figurines the decor of birds or fish are strictly gender-specific. But by and large—and considering the lack of emphasis of sexual attributes—it would be gratuitous to interpret the figurines, as is so often done, as “fertility symbols”.

To conclude: The function of the Central Coast figurines remains in the realm of pure speculation. Throughout the pre-Columbian period, they may have been used in various contexts, though they are overwhelmingly found in graves. But their precise function, or rather functions as grave goods can only be guessed at.

B. CULTURAL PROCESSES ON THE CENTRAL COAST AS REFLECTED IN THE FIGURINES

The premise to this section is that the diffusion or interaction of stylistic and iconographic traits of ceramic objects such as figurines are considered relevant to the tracing of cultural processes in the area where they occur.

Throughout prehistory the valleys of the Central Coast appear divided into two main entities: Huaura-Chancay and Rimac-Lurín, with the Chillón valley functioning as a pivotal articulation between them. Areas to the north or south of the main entities play a minor role, presumably because they have been less studied archaeologically: they will also be left out in this discussion.

The cultural processes which we try to trace fluctuate between epochs when the two main entities are linked ideologically and/or perhaps politically, and those when the Chillón river—

¹ This is recorded in the case of one figurine (443, LH sg.1.1).

² See Chancay sub-group 1.1, group 2 and sub-group 1.5.2a, Special features.

which in its lower course is practically dry for long periods of the year and whose mouth lies a mere 7 km north of that of the Rimac—appears to act as a cultural barrier.

During the Formative there are fairly close contacts between north and south, contacts which continue in the subsequent “White-on-red Horizon” and probably, though the material is scarce, during the Lima culture of the later EIP. Such contacts are evidenced by fairly similar figurines being produced from Chancay to Lurín.

The Middle Horizon sees some changes in inter-valley relationship. Until MH3 contacts still exist between the north and the south, with fairly similar figurines in both areas, but from MH 4 onwards, contacts cease altogether, especially with the Lurín valley, though *some* Chancay figurines find their way into the Rimac valley.

Contacts are only resumed again during the Late Horizon when a unified figurine style, spreading from the south, reaches at least as far north as Ancón. The Chancay valley remains somewhat marginal to this movement.

The Ancón-Chillón “pivot” plays an interesting role in this very schematic outline. As far as the figurine material is concerned, the Chillón valley often remains marginal. This is difficult to explain since many archaeologists included the area in their surveys, their findings being incorporated into a wider overview by MacNeish et al. (1975). The lack of figurines is also in stark contrast with the wealth of material found at Ancón. At any given time, when Ancón shared cultural traits with the valleys to the south, Chillón must have participated in this exchange. But there are no figurines from Chillón for the Formative, none for the Late Formative-early EIP when figurine production was prolific (though no figurines occur in Miramar pottery at Ancón either!) nor for the later part of the EIP which is poor in figurines everywhere.

The early Middle Horizon, well documented for Ancón, shows no figurines at all in Chillón. *Even more surprisingly*, during the late Middle Horizon, no figurines such as Supe, so common in the Chancay/Ancón area, nor “Punch”, common in the Lurín and Rimac valleys, find their way into the Chillón valley¹.

The situation during the Late Intermediate is greatly oversimplified in the published literature. The consensus is that during the early part of the period, Ancón and the Chillón valley share a common pottery tradition with the Chancay valley. During the later part Ancón and the northern sector of the Chillón valley remain linked to the Chancay tradition, whilst the

¹ Only two specimens dating to the late MH or early LIP, a fairly atypical “Cat” fragment (259/Late MH Group 6) and a totally atypical Huaura figurine (1521/Huaura sg. 2.1) allegedly come from there.

southern sector of the valley shares a common pottery style with the Rimac valley (Patterson and Lanning 1964:116; MacNeish, Patterson and Browman 1975: 62). Several explanations are given for this shift: the existence of two distinct ethnic groups north and south of Carabayllo, speaking two different languages, as reported by Cobo, the conquest of the sector north of Carabayllo by the kingdom of Chimor (Rowe 1948: 40), a loss of influence of the oracle at Pachacamac after about 1050 (MacNeish et al. 1964:116), etc.

This oversimplification may be due to a limited knowledge of the pottery of both the Chillón and the Rimac valley during the Late Intermediate. In both valleys the pottery is extremely poor, both iconographically and from a technical point of view, which may explain the lack of interest of archaeologists and *huaqueros* alike. Why this should be the case in two rich and prosperous valleys is one of the questions which has to be addressed. But as a result, there are hardly any published assemblages. The reality—as seen in the figurine sample—is rather more complex:

During the early part of the LIP (epochs 1 to 4/5, e.g. Chancay phases 1 and 2) there is no evidence of a Chancay presence in the Chillón valley¹, though a few unmistakably Chancay-related figurines are found in the Rimac valley. In the later LIP (epochs 5 to 8, e.g. Chancay phase 3) less than 5% of typical black-on white figurines (Chancay groups 1.4, 2 and 3) come from Chillón. However during the same period—but possibly starting slightly later and continuing into phase 4—the Chillón valley produces unmistakable Chancay figurines but in red- and black ware (Chancay sub-groups 1.6, 2.4, 3.2), the former being Kroeber's Sub-Chancay. This Chancay influence appears to extend sporadically also into the Rimac valley. But there is no evidence of the Chillón valley sharing a common style with the valleys to the south. On the contrary, towards the end of the LIP we even see a Chillón sub-style (Chancay 1.6.3). Finally, during the Late Horizon, the figurine production becomes fairly homogenous from Ancón to the Lurín valley, whilst Chancay remains somewhat marginal.

To try and fit the evidence gathered from figurines into the scant knowledge we have of the historical interplay of Central Coast valleys in pre-Columbian times would exceed the scope of this study. But the questions raised by the evidence of the figurines need to be answered from two angles:

“Although a careful analysis of style can often identify trait diffusion, and through it cultural contact, it will not by itself explain the nature of the contact”. G.Bawden (1983:212)

¹ Only four of the 141 early Chancayfigurines (sub-groups 1.1 to 1.3) are said to come from the Chillón valley, none with certain provenance.

“...Surprisingly few advances have been made in understanding the social dynamics that led to the flowering and decay of regional [Classic] cultures.” Schaedel and Shimada (1982: 365):

A brief overview of figurine production in the other coastal areas of pre-Columbian Peru will round off this study. The Sierra and Selva regions are deliberately left out:

- a. because the figurine production in those regions is minimal¹ and
- b. because the interplay of those groups with the study sample is negligible, except for early MH figurine groups from the Ayacucho Basin, mentioned below.

The figurine production on the Central Coast has quite often been at odds with that of other regions. There are no preceramic figurine finds from other coastal areas, though this may be a gap in the archaeological record. The Initial Period and Early Formative, scarcely represented on the Central Coast, has yielded a fair number of figurines on the North Coast (Huaca Prieta², Cerro Sechín³, Las Haldas⁴ etc.) but only a few figurine fragments, found at Hacha, Acarí, on the South Coast (J. Rowe, personal communication). During the Middle Formative the only figurines on the North Coast appear to be the beautiful specimens from Tembladera (e.g. Lapiner 1976: Figs. 51-65), whilst on the South Coast the evidence of figurine production recorded to date is limited to a few figurine fragments from Cerrillos, Ica Valley (D. Wallace, personal communication). We shall have to wait for the Late Formative to see the emergence on the South Coast of the important but fairly rare figurines of the Paracas/Ocucaje style (e.g. Lapiner 1976: Figs. 200-203).

The end of the Formative and the Early Intermediate sees the North Coast embarking on large scale figurine production in such ceramic styles as Salinar (e.g. Lapiner 1976: Figs. 232-234), Puerto Morrin and Gallinazo (M. West, personal communication) or Vicús (e.g. Lapiner 1976: Figs. 453-454). This trend culminates—with the introduction of mold-made figurines—in the mass production of the Moche style. By contrast on the South Coast, apart from a few Topara or Chongos specimens (unpublished), there are no figurines till the end of phase 3 of the Nasca style. Nasca Phase 4 sees first the appearance of small figurines and eventually the beautiful hand-made classic Nasca figurines, which however remain much less numerous than their Moche contemporaries. The Nasca figurines often depict corpulent women with body-

¹ Numerically small groups are recorded for the Formative from Pacopampa (North Highlands), Marcavalle, Chanapata and Pukara (South Highlands). Later periods have yielded only isolated specimens from the Highlands. From the Montaña, figurines dating from the Preceramic and the Formative were found at Kotosh, figurines dating to the Late Intermediate at Tantamayo. Only isolated figurines are known from the Selva.

² Bird, Hyslop, Skinner 1974: Fig. 30.

³ P. Fuchs, personal communication.

⁴ Ishida et al. 1960: Figs. 60, 61.

paint encoding a marine fertility-related symbolism (e.g. *Peru...Jahrtausende* 1983:297). We have seen that during the same period on the Central Coast, after the prolific—though run-of-the-mill—figurine production of the Late Formative and early EIP, figurines all but cease to be made in the Lima culture.

At the beginning of the Middle Horizon changes occurring in the South-Central Highlands result in a discontinuity in figurine traditions which can be traced throughout Peru. The exact mechanism of the changes is still under debate, but we see new influences working on the local Huarpa substratum in the Ayacucho Basin and producing several novel figurine groups, related to local early Middle Horizon pottery styles such as Chakipampa, Ocros and eventually Viñaque (e.g. *Peru...Jahrtausende* 1983:274, nos. 4.38 a,b; Lavalle 1984: 1935; Anders: 1986: 222). It is this latter style which interacts most strongly with the South Coast, where the late Nasca figurines—a debased version of classic Nasca—are replaced by the Atarco style. Atarco figurines combine some classic Nasca features, such as the rendering of the hands, with revolutionary changes, like heads lacking cranial deformation (Lavalle 1984: 133). Atarco figurines are relatively rare and probably short-lived.

On the Central Coast links with the South Coast are already obvious towards during the Early Intermediate, with Nascoïd figurines being produced in the Rimac valley. The Middle Horizon impact makes itself felt in several ways: Atarco-related Wari-Pachacamac figurines (Early MH Group 4) make a relatively brief appearance at Pachacamac, but the earlier local tendencies remain strong. At the same time two other groups—probably imports from the Central and South Central Highlands—appear on the Central Coast. One of them soon vanishes (Early MH Group 2), the other (Early MH Group 3) exercises a more lasting influence on the general appearance of later figurines in the area. The third outside influence comes from the North via the late Moche-related Supe figurines. Although this group is very numerous, its life span and ultimate influence is also limited. However, under the impact of these outside stimuli, the production of figurines, neglected throughout the later EIP, receives a new impetus. The local and foreign trends soon merge into the distinctive tradition expressed in the Huaura and Chancay figurine groups.

In the Moche heartland, we see the prolific Moche figurine tradition declining into low quality mass-produced figurines during Moche phase 5, gradually changing into a somewhat different shape (Kroeber 1925a: Pl.64g), which can be clearly traced in the Supe figurine style. The only sign of a break in the figurine tradition is the brief appearance of the Huari Norteño figurine type, with its tall hat and separate cylindrical legs, totally unrelated to Moche (Morgan 1989: Fig.15). This “foreign” figurine group eventually combines with the late Moche tradition

to produce new groups like, for instance, Taitacantin or Tanguche figurines (e.g. Wilson 1988: Fig.252).

After the Middle Horizon interlude, well-defined local figurine styles develop or reassert themselves in the various regions. In the Lambayeque area, we see the appearance of the distinct Lambayeque figurines (Menzel 1977: Fig.81.A), related to Chimú through the wares, rather than the iconography. In the Moche heartland, the Chimú figurines, depicting a number of distinct personages, are less deeply rooted in the Moche tradition than the ceramic style as a whole. Inversely the impact of the Inca conquest of the area is much less strong on the figurines than on other ceramics.

On the Central Coast, the Late Intermediate sees the development of the various Huaura and Chancay figurine groups. The influence of Chancay is very strong as far south as the Chillón valley, less so in the Rimac and Lurín valleys, where the Ichma pottery style is predominant. However figurines of this style are still ill-defined as a separate entity. It is only during the Late Horizon that an originally Chancay-derived but nevertheless novel figurine style spreads northwards from the southern sector of the Central Coast.

Finally on the South Coast numerous highly stereotyped, mostly small figurines (e.g. Menzel 1977: Fig.34) dominate the Late Intermediate and survive into the Late Horizon. They appear suddenly at the end of the Middle Horizon and undergo little change during the following centuries. This situation is in stark contrast with both the earlier local traditions and with what happens in the rest of Peru at the time.

My hope at the end of this study is to have shown that the figurines, far from being a "minor artifact", encompass a whole range of iconographic, stylistic and technological data, which can be used by the archaeologist and the ethnohistorian in their attempt to decode the past.

